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Headlines Full of Hope

Rumania has changed sides. Bulgaria, on August 28, seemed on the verge of following Rumania's example, as the German troops were withdrawn. Hungary and Finland showed signs of taking similar action. Paris was set free. Allied armies in France raced toward the German border. The Japanese home islands were bombed again, and more than once. Who can remember another week of such sensational headlines of good news for the United Nations? Yet the very brightness of the picture carries a possible danger. Overoptimism, a slackening of our effort, could still prolong the war. And for that matter, both Germany and Japan may yet continue to fight for many long, grim and bloody months.

The Historical Pattern

Most military campaigns are, consciously or unconsciously, variants on a historical pattern. The German success in France in 1940 was at least partly due to the fact that, whereas the Allies expected a repeat of the Schlieffen Plan of 1914, they actually were faced with an improved version of the Ludendorff Plan of 1918. Now that General Eisenhower has gained room for maneuver, his strategy and the German defense can perhaps best be judged by reference to the historical analogue; and despite differences in weapons, terrain and tactics, that analogue is clearly indicated. It is the Union campaign of 1864.

In this repetition of a classical pattern, General Montgomery's group of armies in the north has the role of the army of the Potomac; General Patch, coming up from the south, is playing Sherman, and the *Massif Central* of France represents the Appalachians.

From Sherman to Patch

The part of the northern Allied army is to fight its German opponents; to contain them by attacks so persistent that they cannot detach or obtain time for any wide maneuvers. The fact that the Germans think so highly of their rocket bombs and the position from which they are discharged doubtless played its part in making this assignment. The American Seventh Army and its allies are meanwhile rushing across country to gain the rear of the forces in the Channel departments, and whatever new troops come through Bordeaux will undoubtedly have essentially the same mission.

Just as the sources of supply and reinforcement for Lee's army were cut off in the spring of 1865 when Sherman reached the uplands of North Carolina, so the German forces in Flanders and Belgium would be doomed if Patch reached Metz before their escape. This looks like an extremely long and difficult operation for the forces in the turning columns; but so did Sherman's, and Metz occupies the center of a network of roads and rails far more essential to the Nazis than any single point was to the Confederates.

Our Advantages

This is the general pattern. Most of the variations from it favor the Allied cause. General Lee had the

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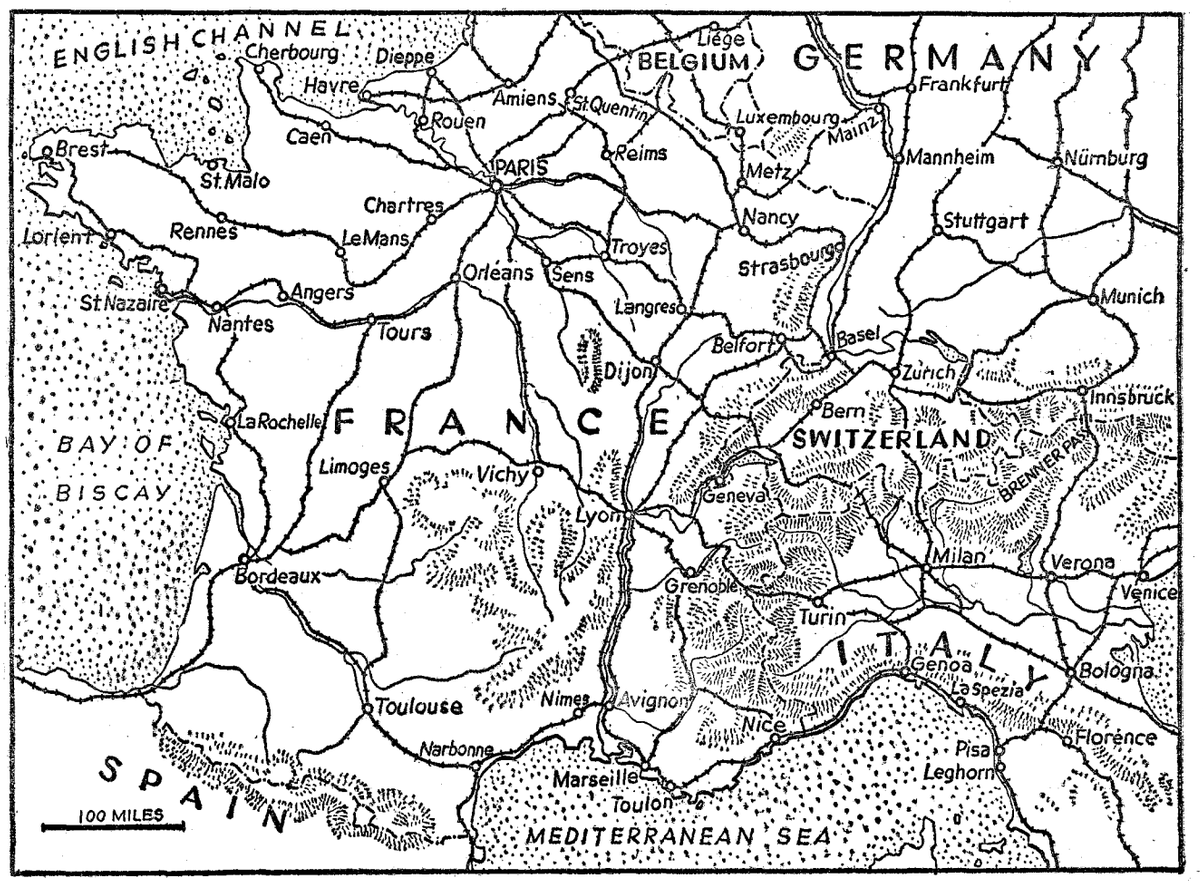
undivided confidence of his government and was able to pursue throughout a single line of strategy; the German command has changed hands rapidly. Sherman was opposed by an officer of considerable ability in defense; it does not appear that General Patch has met any organized opposition at all. There was no good way of striking at Confederate communications except by intermittent cavalry raids; the Allies have and are using air forces proportionately far more powerful than those the Germans launched against France in 1940. Montgomery has been able to detach a powerful column through Troyes (it is remarkable how the historical analogy persists—this was the part assigned to Ben Butler and the army of the James) for a close insweep.

Yet it is a good idea not to be too much attracted by analogies; when these resemblances have been noted, when one adds the fact of the Balkans tumbling down, of Italy more than half conquered and the Russians at the border of East Prussia, what has been achieved? Essentially, the return of the campaign of 1917 with the Allies holding a little more here and a little less there. If German manpower seems to be running out, this is partly because it has been given too much ground to cover. On shortened lines, perhaps with the abandonment of Italy included, there should still be enough Nazis to make a very considerable war and enough equipment for them, as this week's sudden reappearance of the Luftwaffe has demonstrated. The real gain over 1917 is that the Germans approach the old lines of that date with a succession of defeats behind them; the real question is the question of German morale. Nothing really matters until that is broken, as nothing mattered in 1864 till the Confederate soldiers began to desert.

Progress in the Pacific

In the Pacific, nobody seems to have paid very much attention to the fact that Celebes and the base at Manado, the first Dutch territory seized by the Japs, were attacked for the first time. It is over two hundred miles from Halmahera. If the Halmahera airstrips were in any condition at all to bear planes, the raid could have been made a costly one. It is one more evidence that the Japs are following a policy of falling back when the heat really goes on. Where they will



Campaign of France, 1944

There is a striking resemblance between Ulysses S. Grant's successful strategy in the campaign that ended the Southern Confederacy in 1864-65 and that being pursued by General Eisenhower in clearing the Nazis out of France. Montgomery's force has the task of holding the Germans in the area near the Channel; the other Allied armies are striking for their center of communications, somewhere near Metz, and the decisive engagements of the campaign should take place somewhere in Lorraine.

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decide to draw their line of defense is not yet clear.

Collapse in the Balkans

Contrary to Rumania's claim, it is not her defection from the Axis which is bringing about the collapse of the entire Nazi defense system in the Balkans. Rather, it is the disastrous defeat of the German army in Bessarabia and Germany's military exhaustion which made possible the overthrow of the puppet Antonescu regime. The same is true of the surrender of the equally fascist dictatorship of Premier Ivan Bagrianov in Bulgaria. Without the support of German bayonets, both governments were doomed.

It is well to recall that the alliance of both countries with Germany was engineered by their autocratic ruling classes whose popularity had long been on the wane and whose territorial conquests did not succeed in diverting the Rumanian and Bulgarian peoples from opposing their native and foreign taskmasters. Revolutionary currents have existed throughout the war period, strongly in Bulgaria, less so in Rumania. With assurances that the Soviet Union does not intend to interfere in Rumania's social structure, King Michael's coup and the setting up of a coalition government, including Right and Left elements, are last-minute efforts to avoid social revolution. A similar development may be expected in Bulgaria, which has never been at war with the Soviet Union, and where the alliance with Germany has always been unpopular.

It can never be emphasized enough that the pacification of the Balkans cannot be achieved by territorial adjustments, but only by fundamental changes in the social and economic regimes. It is for this reason that Rumania's territorial demands on Hungary with respect to Transylvania are far from reassuring from the point of view of future peace in the Danube basin.

The Jews of Hungary

There is an element of unreality in the resolution, introduced in Congress, urging President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull to persuade Great Britain to permit free entry of Jews from Hungary into Palestine. Even if Britain should open the Palestinian haven, the migration of 400,000 Jews from Nazi-occupied Hungary could not be successfully effected in the next few weeks. Their departure would depend on the consent of the Nazis rather than of the Hungarian government. This assumption is supported by a recent report from Sweden that of about 500 Jews, who had been permitted by the Hungarian government to leave for Sweden, only two were granted travel visas through Germany. Proposals, at this late date, to evacuate Jews from Hungary by way of available troop ships and transport planes are unrealistic, since they do not take Nazi opposition into account. The Nazis did not hesitate to bomb and sink vessels carrying Jewish refugees from Rumania to Palestine, and there is no reason to believe that they will behave otherwise now. But history is again moving faster than the ability of men to act. Rumania's surrender and her alignment with the Allies is bringing the victorious Russian armies to the border of Hungary. It seems that the delivery of Hungary's Jews will come through military liberation rather than evacuation. The most that can be hoped for is that the Hungarian government and the Hungarian people will protect the Jews against deportation and extermination by the Nazis until the day of liberation. Hungary's action in this respect might well work to her credit in the future peace settlement.

Pegler Is at It Again

Westbrook Pegler, whose removal from the Scripps-Howard newspapers to Hearst was announced a few days ago, celebrated the occasion with one of the most outrageous acts of his whole public career. He wrote a savage attack on Mr. Justice Frankfurter of the United States Supreme Court, an attack fantastically far from the truth. Supreme Court Justices don't usually sue for libel, which is lucky for Pegler; his article is undoubtedly libelous both in the technical sense and morally. He charges that Frankfurter is a Communist, and goes all the way back to the Bisbee deportation case of 1917 to prove it. His authority for attacking him over that case is the late President Theodore Roosevelt, a man who, in his later years, was almost as famous as Pegler himself for violent expression of violent prejudice, based upon only a partial knowledge of the facts. Every competent historian in America knows that Frankfurter was right in opposing the Bisbee deportations, in which a middle-class lynch mob forcibly removed from Bisbee, Arizona, several hundred copper miners. Everyone who knows Mr. Justice Frankfurter knows that he is about as far from supporting the Communist philosophy as one can get.

Railroads and the Sherman Law

The Department of Justice has recently filed one of the most important anti-trust suits of its whole history. It has named as defendants 47 railroads, many of their executives, several associations of railroads, and two important banking firms, J. P. Morgan and Kuhn, Loeb. The charge is in general that the defendants coöperated to restrict free competition in the Western part of the United States. Rates, it is charged, have been held unduly high. The roads have also kept up rates among trucking and water-carrier interests. Necessary facilities, such as spur tracks, have not been built. Technological improvements like air-conditioning and radio communication for trainmen, have been discouraged.

The railroads, of course, indignantly deny all these charges, and some of their friends hasten to say that

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since they are under strict regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission, none of these bad practices could have grown up. When the case comes to trial, we shall have better evidence as to the truth of the charges. Whatever may have been the original intent as to the ICC, nowadays in fact it does little more in regard to rates than to accept those proposed by the roads.

Discriminatory Freight Rates

Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge threw some light on this whole solution in a speech in Kansas City shortly before the anti-trust suit was filed. To prove the disparity in freight rates in favor of the East, he quoted some figures. Work clothing in carload lots costs $15.60 a thousand pounds from Macon, Georgia, to Chicago. From Philadelphia to Chicago, almost exactly the same distance, the rate is only $11.20. From Omaha, Nebraska, to Columbus, Ohio, you must pay $18.70, while from Fitchburg, Massachusetts, to Columbus, again almost the same distance, the rate is $15.20. Mr. Berge says that on goods subject to class rates, the charges are on the average 37 percent higher in the South than in the East and 46 to 71 percent higher in the West. He cites several instances where one or several railroads wanted to cut the rates, if only temporarily, in an emergency, but were coerced or persuaded not to do so by the total organization of railroads. Mr. Berge says that the roads notoriously keep rates high and then claim they cannot reduce their charges until volume has increased, whereas the general business rule is to cut your rates in order to create volume. Everyone remembers how the Eastern roads refused to reduce passenger fares, how the government forced them to do so and how they promptly went into a period of tremendous traffic and high profits. No one disputes that the railroads have done and are doing a magnificent job in the war. The question is not of their patriotism, but of justice as between one section of the country and another. On that point, they will have their day in court.

The Wisconsin Primary

The conservative Eastern press has hailed the results of the Wisconsin primary as a blow to liberalism. Perhaps, however, the Tories had better wait until the November election for their final jubilation. It is true that the Republicans got about 70 percent of the vote and the Democrats 20. The Progressives got only about 6 percent—so little, indeed, that it is not yet certain whether they can remain on the ticket at all. But the size of the Republican vote is without significance: Wisconsin has open primaries in which anybody can vote, and there were hardly any contests in the Democratic Party, while the Republicans had hot fights over the positions of United States Senator, Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. As for the Progressives, it is a serious question just how much real liberalism that party represents nowadays, when it is rapidly moving toward amalgamation with the conservative Wisconsin Republican Party. Representative Howard McMurray, one of the ablest members of the House, is running for Senator on the Democratic ticket. Despite the results of the primary, there are indications that he has a good chance of defeating the incumbent, Republican Senator Alexander Wiley.

Britain and Argentina

The United States has moved one step nearer to economic sanctions by freezing Argentine gold in the United States. Though this means merely that Argentinians will not be able to use this gold to finance imports, which in any case are much less than their current exports will buy, it is a warning that more severe measures may follow. There is also a report that Britain and the United States will not renew their contracts for the purchase of meat in Argentina. This does not necessarily imply that they will purchase no meat, but it does leave the way open to take such action.

If the British press is any indication of the intentions of the government, however, the economic penalties necessary to prevent the Argentine dictatorship from continuing to aid the Axis and becoming a menace to neighbors on this continent will not be taken. The British view is that since the United Kingdom is heavily dependent on Argentina for imports during the war and for trade and investment after it, a stoppage of trade would be too costly a price to pay for what seems to be considered an effort of the United States to bolster Pan-Americanism and hemisphere solidarity. This view is quite mistaken, and if British policy is governed by it, the British themselves will suffer in the long run. Argentina is at the moment a budding fascist state which constitutes a menace to victory in this war and a fruitful source of possible future trouble. Britain should feel as much concern about this tendency as the United States feels about aggressive military dictatorships in Europe. Surely it would be possible for the two nations to share any immediate sacrifices involved in preventive economic sanctions and to take them without prejudice to the future interest of either in Argentine trade. If they cannot, what becomes of the expressed intention of both to take a leading part in preventing future war by coöperating against aggressive governments anywhere in the world?

Taking Off the Blinders

Congress and the President have now acted to repeal the disgraceful Taft amendment to the servicemen's-vote law, which was designed to put blinders on American troops. Under the law as now modified, the army will again receive books and magazines and be allowed

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to see motion pictures, even though these may discuss current or historical political personalities and questions. Apparently the only remaining restriction, which seems reasonable enough, is that if official periodicals report political speeches of a partisan character, they must give an opportunity for a reply by the other side. Senator Taft says that the army went to absurd lengths in carrying out his amendment, and apparently it did. But most of the fault was his own. We reported recently what he said to Norman Cousins, editor of The Saturday Review of Literature, to whom the Senator from Ohio complained that "75 percent of the soldiers would vote for the President if given a chance," and added that "he was opposed to voting by soldiers in the national election." We hope the voters of Ohio will remember this when Taft, in many ways a leader of reaction in the Senate, comes up for reëlection next November.

They Do Organize

Those who used to say that white-collar workers could never be persuaded to join unions, must be rubbing their eyes nowadays. The United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO, which is about to hold its annual convention in Philadelphia, now has 55,000 members in 40 states, and it is only one of several white-collar groups. The UOPWA reports that during the past two years it has obtained for its members $14 million in salary increases through collective bargaining. This has been achieved despite the fact that among office and professional workers, objective job standards have been lacking and salary classifications have varied greatly from one office to another. Further evidence that white-collar workers are getting together is to be found in the National Council of Sciences, Professions, Arts and White Collar Organizations, whose creation and purposes have already been reported in our columns (The New Republic, August 21).

Two Honest Men

When their own WPB chiefs sided with War Department officials in suppressing certain key war-production facts, Lewis Bassie and Irving Kaplan, WPB economist-statisticians, decided that that was where they had to get off. Kaplan and Bassie had offered data showing that many phases of the army production program were being continued in the face of growing surpluses, especially in ordnance items. Those facts did not support General Brehon Somervell's recent pronouncements that the program was lagging seriously. The Bassie-Kaplan facts were ordered deleted from the July Progress Report.

We are glad to learn that the next issue of the American Statistical Association's official publication will carry an editorial tribute to these two men who refused to allow their professional status to be compromised by reconversion politics.

The American Peace Plan

THE OUTLINE of the plan submitted by the American delegates to the conference on world security at Dumbarton Oaks is about what would have been expected from advance discussion of the subject. Apparently it does not differ widely in essentials from the ideas of the British and Russian delegates, and something like it will probably emerge for consideration by the other members of the United Nations and the public.

According to this plan, there will be a Council to call into action the armed forces available to the world organization for the purpose of suppressing aggression. This council will have as permanent members the Big Four, with the later addition of France. It will also contain representatives of perhaps six of the other nations, elected according to some acceptable scheme by a General Assembly. These representatives will presumably outnumber those of the great powers, thus compensating to some extent for the fact that no one of the smaller nations will have permanent direct representation.

An apparent difference between this governing body and that of the League of Nations is that its decision to impose sanctions need not be unanimous, but will be by majority vote. The great powers still will not, however, delegate to an international agency authority to activate their armed forces, since according to the plan each is, through the vote of its delegate, to have a veto on the employment of its own military. This reduces to a hair-line the difference from the old unanimity requirement. It is also suggested that each power be required to police only its own region or sphere of influence.

There is, apparently, to be no international police

Crawford in The Newark Evening News

"A Test of Links"

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force, although the Russians do suggest an international air corps made up of volunteers. The armies and navies available to the Council will be those of the several nations themselves. The American plan proposes that the Big Four, by separate agreement, specify what force each shall hold ready for this purpose.

The principal controversy likely to arise in the United States over this plan concerns the question whether, limited though it is, it still does not permit too ready a use of our arms in behalf of international security. By vote of the Council, the American delegate assenting, this nation might become involved in war. Congress may not decide to impair its constitutional power to declare war, and therefore may add its own veto power to that of the national representative on the Council. If this view prevails, we shall be back almost where we were, without any international security organization at all.

Against the guardians of congressional prerogatives it is urged that Congress can delegate its war power by ratification of the treaty which sets up the international machinery, and that the American representative may be appointed in such a way as to be responsible to Congress as well as to the Executive. It is also pointed out that the President as Commander-in-Chief can already order the armed forces into action for police duty of a kind which is not called "war," and also that in effect he may involve the nation in a situation where a declaration of war by Congress becomes virtually inevitable.

The more closely one examines proposals of this kind, the more it becomes evident that no formula of words is of prime importance. If the great powers are in close agreement with one another, and if they are both willing and ready to use force against a disturber of the peace, they can utilize any reasonably efficient legal machinery to effectuate their purpose. If it is understood by the world that they will do so, and promptly, there will be much less chance of aggression. But if they are divided and uncertain in their purposes, the most binding advance agreements will be of little avail.

The peoples of the world would deceive themselves if they took an arrangement of this kind to represent the real hope of future peace. There can be no good objection to it; indeed it is generally demanded. But of far greater importance are the subjects not properly within the sphere of this conference at all—the agencies and policies which might bind the nations together in creative effort to build a peace so much worth preserving that nobody but a madman would wish to break it. If the peoples must compete in a scramble for shares in scarcity, the chances are not only that we shall have to call out the police, but that the police forces will quarrel among themselves. But if the permanent members of the Council will assure full employment within their own boundaries by wise economic policies, and will let the influence of their standards become world-wide through such instrumentalities as the international food agency and the world investment bank, we may have the substance of permanent peace rather than merely a scheme to counter violence with violence.

Dewey and the Peace

THE FIRST PHASE of the conversations between Secretary of State Cordell Hull and John Foster Dulles, Governor Dewey's representative on foreign affairs, has come to an end. The result seems to be that the Republican candidate has caught up to where the Republican leaders of the Senate stood months ago.

Mr. Dulles, on behalf of Governor Dewey, at the conclusion of his three lengthy meetings with Secretary Hull, announced that Dewey now agrees with Hull that the subject of future peace must be considered as a nonpartisan subject which must be kept strictly out of politics. Dulles further revealed that he and the Secretary of State had exchanged views on "the various problems connected with the establishment of an international peace and security organization" and that "there was agreement of views on numerous aspects of this subject."

Early in this war, as is well known, Secretary Hull made it a policy to consult Senate leaders of both main parties on the major developments in our foreign policy as they arose. Long before the Dumbarton Oaks conference was publicly announced, a joint Senate committee had agreed with Hull on the form which our proposals on international organization should take. Such basic matters as the relinquishment of any part of our sovereignty and the position of the smaller nations in world organization had been thoroughly thrashed out. When Governor Dewey chose to question the administration loudly through the press as to its intentions with regard to these points at the Dumbarton conference, if you assumed that he questioned in good faith, you had to assume also that he did not know what the Senate leaders of his party had been doing. (Wendell Willkie later revealed to Dewey that he had been able by private questions to satisfy without publicity some doubts he had felt.)

Whatever Dewey's motives were in raising questions about the American position at the present conference, the outcome of the Hull-Dulles conversations seems to be that the Dumbarton Oaks conference and the deliberations on international organization that will follow will not become campaign issues. Dewey, however, has carefully reserved his right to criticize the President's past conduct of our foreign affairs and will doubtless put great emphasis on that issue in his coming speeches.

Hull seems pleased with the outcome of this first round. Dulles is pleased. The members of the Dumbarton conference who, at first, were afraid that Dewey's blast threatened American unity on any agree-

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ment, are reassured. Those who, at this point, are not pleased with the state of affairs are: the press, which is resentful of the secrecy ban preventing reports of what is happening at Dumbarton; foreign-policy experts, who resent seeing the very conservative cartel lawyer, John Foster Dulles, passed off as a liberal internationalist; and some Democratic politicians, who think it is a mistake to let Dewey elbow his way onto the world scene.

Nelson, Wilson and Krug

FOR MONTHS NOW, both war production and preparations for reconversion to peacetime production have suffered from the running fight between Donald Nelson and Charles E. Wilson, the chairman and vice-chairman of the War Production Board. By last week, there was scarcely a member of the WPB top staff who had escaped aligning himself with one side or another. Nelson's supporters accused the Wilson group of putting the interests of big business before the interests of the country as a whole, of trying to delay reconversion until large firms still busy with war production could begin civilian production at the same time as the small firms, which have already run out of war work. Wilson and his group loudly denied these charges, accused Nelson of continuous "sniping," and contended that war production is still in so critical a condition that talk of reconversion is premature.

Washington was agreed that so bitter a feud could not be tolerated beyond the President's return from his Pacific trip. Both Wilson and Nelson saw the President. At first it appeared that Wilson had won, for the White House announced that Nelson was going on a mission of several months to China and that Wilson would act as chairman during his absence. Those months, obviously, would decide the basic reconversion policies around which the Nelson-Wilson feud had revolved. Even if Nelson had been willing to take this "kick in the teeth," his followers in the WPB were not. Rumors and stories quoting "reliable authorities" poured from the press at such a rate that the White House had to take notice. The President backtracked, saying that Nelson's trip would be brief, that he was still running the show. Wilson heatedly resigned. The President accepted his resignation, and then, in a real surprise move, called in a former WPB executive, J. A. Krug, and put him in charge during Nelson's absence.

It is generally thought that the President intends to keep Krug as WPB chairman, that he has again chosen, as he did in the Jesse Jones-Henry Wallace controversy over foreign economic policy, to settle a major dispute by removing both parties to the dispute and starting over again with a new man. If that is the case, it can be definitely said that the appointment of "Cap" Krug is no victory for big business. Those who have known him best in his government career generally agree in describing him as a moderate liberal, sympathetic to many of the New Deal measures, such as the TVA, with which he was connected before coming to the WPB when it was first organized, but certainly not a hundred-percent New Dealer. Krug is supposed to have been Nelson's choice to succeed him, while Wilson wanted vice-chairman Arthur Bunker of the Lehman Corporation for the job.

In the few days since Wilson left Washington for General Electric and Nelson left for China, the press has been full of lamentations over the break up of this combination and elegies over their surpassing records. It is true that under Nelson and Wilson we have reached unexcelled levels of war production, but as we have pointed out so many times in The New Republic, more often than not our triumph sprang from prodigal use of our vast resources rather than from careful planning and efficient use of what was at our disposal. Charles E. Wilson made a valuable contribution to the production program, especially during his early days in Washington when he ousted the Wall Street-Eberstadt crowd from the WPB. He has been a good breaker of bottlenecks, but he has never organized a scheduling system that really worked. Many of those who have been closest to him in Washington contend that his reputation as a production genius has been too greatly inflated. Donald Nelson, on the other hand, has always been the politician in business. He has done very well at staying on top through some rough times, and it has been good for the production program that that continuity was thus assured.

There was a long period during this war when the Nelson-Wilson combination worked smoothly and efficiently for us all. That time is past. While it is impossible to know yet how Mr. Krug will measure up to his new job, this change of management at this particular time should give us a much needed opportunity to reconsider the whole question of how best to manage our industrial production from here on out.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
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For a Missouri Valley Authority

An idea has been loosed like a fresh wind in the long valley of the Missouri River. It is a wind unfelt as yet by many professional politicians, lobbyists, special interests and the makers of big decisions, because it does not blow their way. But the idea itself is a growing thing that cannot be killed, that is getting bigger all the time. On August 18, Senator James E. Murray of Montana introduced a bill to create a Missouri Valley Authority. His bill was modeled from the law creating the Tennessee Valley Authority. On August 23, Senator Guy Gillette of Iowa introduced a similar bill.

More and more people in the valley are asking themselves: Why should there not be a Missouri Valley Authority to heal the drought and end the ruinous flood? Why should not the empire of the Missouri basin fulfill its destiny through the same system of unified, regional, corporate management that has given stability and prosperity to the valley of the Tennessee?

The wind is blowing because the river suffers from the evils of divided control, which have failed to solve the flood problem at one end of the river and the drought problem at the other. Both Army Engineers, interested primarily in flood control and navigation, and the Bureau of Reclamation, interested primarily in irrigation, suffer legal restrictions which narrow their respective fields. Lacking is the unified control which would see the Missouri as one big river constituting one big problem and administer it as such.

There is powerful and deeply entrenched opposition, deflecting the fresh, stimulating wind of the big idea —the MVA idea. Various vested interests have for years moved with crude force to use the river for their own purposes and to influence agencies of government to adopt policies patterned to their schemes. The well financed navigation bloc wants a deep and open channel, without regard for the thirst of the upper states or for the universal benefits of low-cost power. The Power Trust, even though the TVA has shown the way to increased profits for private companies, jealously guards against any possible extension of federal power projects. Swarms of contractors and raw-material suppliers, satisfied with the program of the past, by which the Army Engineers have spent half a billion dollars on levees that often fail to ward off crippling floods, have old connections with various departments of government and want no change.

These and their followers work back stage, not always too well hidden by the scenery, whenever the valley's future is being weighed. Their shadows were long over Omaha in March and again early in August, when Governors and representatives of the nine basin states met to seek common agreement on the river's problems. At Omaha, the Governors passed some high-sounding resolutions and urged coördination of the work of Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation, but left untouched the fundamental flaw, namely, divided authority. Their shadows were tall over New Orleans in late July, when the National Rivers and Harbors Congress convened, conferred and worriedly voted down any consideration of the MVA idea.

They are always busy in Washington, of course, where all big decisions are made. There a running quarrel over the use of vital waters several thousand miles away has needled Congress for five months, with Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming as protagonist of up-river states, irrigationists and the Department of the Interior, and Senator Clark of Missouri splintering the same old lance for down-river states, navigationists, flood control and the Engineer Corps.

The antagonisms that flared over the Battle of the Missouri, fought in Washington in a fantastic array of men and bureaus, argued in essence for an MVA. Why should the Reclamation Bureau, Department of Agriculture, Army Engineers, Bureau of Mines, Federal Power Commission and various pork-barrel artists continue to divide and confuse valley issues that actually present a unified problem capable of a unified solution? One big valley begged, above the din of political battle, for one big plan.

Not long ago the TVA celebrated its eleventh birthday. This, without fanfare, was graduation *cum laude*. The days of experiment were over, the old misconceptions dissolved. The TVA had outgrown and left laughably far behind the conception of it as a mere power "yardstick," or as a febrile flirtation with socialism, or as some new form of corporation despotism. It had passed with Saxon strength its trials by power, by soil conservation, by flood control, by reforestation, by navigation, by war mobilization and —most importantly—by grateful popular acceptance in the region where its great work is done.

The time was now of which the President spoke in his original TVA message of 1933: "If we are successful here, we can march on, step by step, in a like development of other great territorial units within our borders." The TVA idea was ready to march.

Early in May, The St. Louis Post-Dispatch addressed all editors of the Missouri Valley in a major editorial. "The time has come," it said, "to recognize that the Missouri River is one big river presenting one big problem.

"Never," it added, "short of a regional, autonomous, unified authority, can our valley be developed to the full measure of its resources. There must be an end to

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ALDEN-HESSER
MEDINA, OHIO

endless and futile struggle between one interest and another. We need unity, replacing civil war. There is before us in the Tennessee Valley an object lesson that sectionalism can give way to unity to the greater benefit of all."

Two weeks earlier, the Missouri River and its angry tributaries had gone on another of their marauding rampages. Flood waters gullied yielding fields, spilled over river banks to despoil fine farm lands and sweep seed and fertility from the soil. Loaded with its thick golden treasure of topsoil, the Missouri tumbled into the Mississippi to spread a wider wilderness of water. That broader stream sped on from St. Louis toward Cairo, gnawing through levees, gobbling up railroad tracks and towns, isolating grain elevators, freezing transportation, flooding a million acres of valuable land. Unfattened stock was evacuated and dumped on the market, wartime economy was dislocated, families were left homeless, hugging such pitiful treasures as they could rescue against eventual recession of the waters. Relief was rushed by Congress to the victims and a $12 million flood-repair bill was passed.

The tributary Tennessee mocked its Western neighbors. While nearby states totted up $65 million lost in immediate and tangible damage, bringing the two-year total to $112 million for the Missouri alone, the Tennessee, in pre-TVA days notorious for its floods, flowed safely within its banks. It had been untroubled by the heaviest February rainfall in 54 years, and an extraordinarily heavy rainfall in the spring.

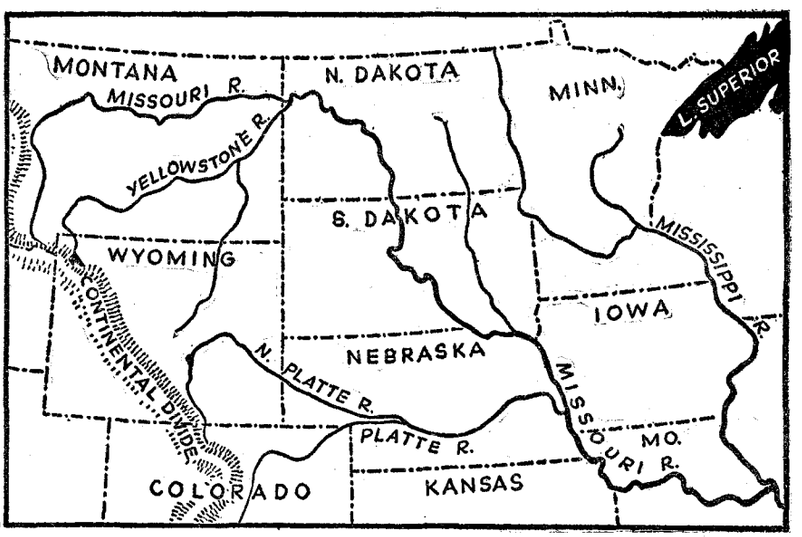
Shaken by the senseless tragedy of floods, repeated year after neglectful year, The St. Louis Post-Dispatch turned to the TVA idea. It was mindful, too, of the tragedy of thirst which, in all but the kindest summers, spreads economic plague and poverty in water-starved areas of Wyoming, Montana, Nebraska and the Dakotas. To people on both banks of the 2,470-mile-long river, from the mountains at 13,000 feet to the rich alluvial plain, the one problem is water—in one place too little, in another place too much. The unity of that problem is simple and shocking. The one satisfactory solution seems to be an MVA, which would operate an integrated system of multiple-purpose dams to regulate and control the entire river. The one obstacle is the present system of divided authority and the conflicting vested interests which result.

Neither interstate compact nor a river commission after the pattern of the hobbled Mississippi Valley Commission—advanced in some quarters as alternative proposals—could be the answer. Under the thin mask of unity, they would be subject to the same old pulling and hauling among special interests, existing federal agencies and the divided requirements of the states.

For a time the wind blew freer outside the valley than in the 500,000 square miles of the Missouri watershed. There was immediate response from the National Farmers' Union, strong in up-river states, headed by progressive, dynamic James Patton, who has long seen in the MVA idea "inspiring opportunities" and the only program under which the thirsting states can anchor their dwindling populations and prosper. George W. Norris spoke from McCook, Nebraska, with a statesman's paternal pride in the TVA: "All the Missouri Valley has to do," he said simply, "is see what has been done in the Tennessee Valley."

However, beyond the basin of the capricious river, many newspapers took up the drumbeat. David Lilienthal's book "TVA—Democracy on the March," telling the TVA chairman's story of economic regeneration in a region many believed could never be given a sense of common cause, was and is attracting nationwide attention to that safe valley. So was Senator McKellar's frustrated fight to make the TVA his political vassal. So was and is the issue of postwar public works.

Men of almost every political stripe agree that such projects must be wealth-creating, not just job-creating, and harnessing the Missouri with a system of multiple-purpose dams would do far more, under unified plan-



The Missouri River Valley

The Missouri River, most of whose basin is shown in the accompanying map, is about 2,500 miles long from its main source on the continental divide, to the point where it flows into the Mississippi, fifteen miles above St. Louis. While no details for the Missouri Valley Authority Plan have been made public, presumably there would be reservoirs on the upper reaches of the stream and levees downstream, to provide for the customary purposes of flood control, power production and, to some extent, irrigation.

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ning and management, than give direct employment to many thousands of men during the building years and stem the annual devastation of floods.

It would, following surely the fresh footsteps of the TVA, electrify farms, irrigate more than 4,000,000 acres of have-not land, program scientific land use, attract industry and challenge freight rates with low-cost navigation and cheaper power, boom the use of electrical appliances, stimulate mining in four states. It would return to the thirsting, impoverished and eroded areas up-river the lost populations that have fled them for a precarious city subsistence that cannot promise security after the war.

With these things in mind—the record of the TVA and the national need for protection from new lean years, together with the national need for protection from the pillage of flood—many and disparate champions took up the cause of the MVA. The Chicago Sun, The Louisville Courier-Journal, The Washington Times-Herald, The New York Daily News, The Birmingham News, The Memphis Commercial Appeal and the Cowles papers in Des Moines and Minneapolis were among more than a score of out-valley newspapers which either applauded the Post-Dispatch proposal or offered kindred theses of their own.

Still, the swelling wind of the MVA idea ruffled few papers on Capitol Hill, where most of the people's representatives seemed to have rededicated themselves to the tired old formula of piecemeal approach to the valley's knotted troubles. Hearings droned on. The House passed the Army Engineers' Pick plan for a system of reservoirs for navigation and flood control, and also the rivers and harbors bill, which includes plans for Missouri River development of a nine-foot channel from Sioux City, Iowa, to the mouth. Senator O'Mahoney hastily introduced a bill for preliminary Interior Department work on a rival $1,250,000,000 plan to impound and use the waters of the Missouri for up-river purposes. He also charged the Engineers with plotting to steal up-river "priority" water.

The Commerce Subcommittee of the Senate took up both Engineer-sponsored measures and the conflict flamed. Senators, army men, Governors, state water commissioners, private engineers, experts from the Reclamation Bureau, flooded farmers and navigationists moved across the testimonial stage like actors in a play written about some backward civilization of another time. Within the grasp of any one of them was one of the greatest social concepts of the century. It lay in the democratic arsenal, unused, while the war of political attrition raged on.

Those Missouri Valley missionaries preaching the decentralizing gospel of the MVA looked with amazement on the graybearded workings of the Rivers and Harbors Congress in New Orleans. Several hundred old-line cherishers of the status quo solemnly indorsed the Pick plan of the Engineers—half a billion dollars' worth of federal construction—and the making of a nine-foot channel from Sioux City.

A few progressives at the meeting looked hopefully toward the MVA idea. Representative Will M. Whittington of Mississippi, chairman of the House Flood Control Committee, tried to scold them back into mothball regularity, and exposed his own ignorance of the MVA idea by assuming that its partisans intended to transplant the TVA bodily to the larger river, like a garment incapable of alteration. He also made the absurd statement that the TVA had not been a major factor in flood control, although recent river history recorded that Norris Dam alone saved Cairo, Illinois, at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi, by a matter of watery inches in the flood of 1937.

For the benefit of the Rivers and Harbors Congress, special interests, congressmen and their collaborators, MVA advocates repeated the basic principles of the TVA idea, as outlined by Mr. Lilienthal, emphasizing that it argued only for the application of the managerial principle to river problems:

1. A federal autonomous agency, with authority to make decisions in the region.
2. Responsibility to deal with resources as a unified whole clearly fixed in the regional agency, not divided among several centralized federal agencies.
3. A policy, fixed by law, that the federal regional agency will work coöperatively with and through local and state agencies.

The wind of the MVA idea—a people's idea—blows steadier all the time. Kenneth Simons, editor of The Bismarck (N. D.) Tribune, is back at home after attending the Rivers and Harbors Congress and visiting the TVA. "We want the TVA idea applied to our valley," he is saying. "We want a little bit of Washington here in our valley to deal directly, intimately and intelligently with our problems." District 8, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO), has just published a pamphlet, "One River, One Plan," dramatizing in factual and pictorial form its program to "familiarize labor, farmers, industry and all the people with the facts of a need for MVA." A prominent St. Louis investment banker wanted to know where and how he should start in devoting his entire future to furthering the MVA idea. A St. Louis minister, the Rev. Ralph C. Abele, took his text one recent Sunday from the psalm that sings of "a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God." He said: "We have failed of a vision," failed to see the unity of the river and its need for "a unified plan whose aim is the greatest good for the greatest number over the longest span of time." His sermon charged the people of the valley with the "sin of neglect" and called for the creation of an MVA.

So blows the wind in the Missouri Valley.

RALPH and JEAN LIGHTFOOT COGHLAN

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Surplus Property: Plunder or Plan?

ONE MAN may soon be in a position to determine the shape of America's industrial future for years to come—in aviation, shipping, electronics, our war-born light-metal, rubber and high-octane-gasoline industries, as well as the market for machine tools, parts, scrap, trucks and road equipment, textiles, medical supplies and food stuffs, the location of our postwar airfields, the trend of metropolitan real estate. We have acquired so vast a quantity and variety of goods and properties in the course of fighting this war that control over the disposal of these government-owned surpluses can mean control of large parts of our economic system. If the man chosen to administer the disposal of these goods and properties represented a single industrial group, the special favors in his power to grant might easily change the future course of whole industries.

If the Colmer bill for the disposal of surplus properties, which has already passed the House, becomes law, we will be giving that tremendous power to one man. And that man, a majority of the House hopes, will be Will Clayton of Houston, Texas.

Will Clayton is a big man. He thinks big, and is accustomed to associate with other big men in big operations. He worked his way up from running errands in a country town in Tennessee to running the Clayton-Anderson Company, the biggest cotton business in the world. Since last winter, he has been serving as Surplus Property Administrator, by executive order, until Congress could prepare permanent legislation to handle the job. Prior to that, from the time he left Houston for Washington, Clayton worked for his old friend and fellow Houstonian, Jesse Jones, whose closest financial associates in Texas are the Mellons and the Rockefellers through their interests in Texas oil and sulphur. Clayton saw the inside of the tooling up and gearing up that transformed us from civilian to war production. As Assistant Secretary of Commerce and deputy to Jones in his many other capacities, Will Clayton had a part in making the decisions which handed the war-production pie over to big business, the decisions by which the Mellons and the Rockefellers walked off with the expansions in aluminum and synthetic-rubber capacity.

The two Houses of Congress are in sharp disagreement on how to handle surpluses. What rules and how many shall Congress lay down for the Surplus Property Administrator to follow? What are adequate safeguards for a disposal job involving $100 billion, close to one-half the dollar cost of the war? How can these new resources be used to promote high production and full employment rather than to strengthen monopoly; to improve the condition of small business men, small farmers and returning veterans rather than to serve the exclusive interests of big business, big farmers and speculators?

The House of Representatives has solved the question by passing a bill brought in by its Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning which simply signs a blank check made out to Will Clayton. Clayton had the first draft of that bill prepared last spring by his counsel, Stuart Scott, John Goodloe of the RFC and William L. Marbury of the navy. It was handed over to Republocrat William Colmer of Mississippi, under whose name the bill has been passed by the House with a few minor changes.

The Colmer, or Clayton, bill, in general gives statutory authority for continuing the present loose system of surplus-property disposal which has come in for so much criticism recently. Under the terms of that bill, there need be no change in policies such as the present land-disposal procedure which Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell has attacked as being against the public interest and in the special interest of real-estate brokers seeking high commissions.

The House Small Business Committee unanimously opposed the Colmer bill on the ground that it "does not offer sufficient guarantees in the way of specific principles or procedures . . . to assure us that either the legitimate, competent, small business man or the returning serviceman will be afforded the opportunities to acquire the fair share of these surplus items to which they are entitled." The bill pays lip-service to both those principles, but Maury Maverick, chairman of the Smaller War Plants Corporation, has attacked the real protection provided as inadequate: "Does it mean that a small business man who lives in Pecos, Texas . . . has the right to go to Philadelphia and buy something for $10 million?" he asked.

On the other side, in the course of the House debate on the Colmer bill, Hamilton Fish declared the bill "sound." Eugene Cox of Georgia acclaimed the "splendid job" Will Clayton has done and said of the Colmer committee, "I do not think any agency of this House has ever functioned more realistically, more sensibly, and I believe more satisfactorily." Colmer himself made it clear that the bill Clayton had given him to introduce was designed with property rather than people foremost, saying that it "seeks to obtain certain objectives: First, the objective of protecting the American taxpayer; and, second, the objective of disposing of this surplus property with as little interference with our American system as possible."

The action of the House constitutes a vote of confidence in Will Clayton as Administrator of Surplus War Property. The actions of the Senate thus far indi-

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cate just the opposite. The Stewart-Murray-Taft bill, representing the careful work of men of both parties, goes to the opposite extreme from the Colmer bill's one-man control, calling for an eight-man administrative board, plus two observers from the Senate and the House, with a director to be selected by the board. The Senate bill approaches our war surpluses as "a great national asset" to be used as a means of obtaining full employment and a higher standard of living.

The Stewart-Murray-Taft bill, unlike Clayton's plan, takes the view that it is the job of Congress to lay down the basic policies which the administrator is to follow. It takes notice of the lack of specific information as to what these surpluses are and where they are, and calls for long-needed inventories. The Surplus Property Board would be required to prepare plans for the disposal of each category of surplus plants and submit them to Congress before taking action. If Congress did not veto the plans within thirty days, they would then go into effect. A system of representative advisory committees, both for the board and for the individual disposal agencies, would provide a further check.

Every contract for sale or lease of a plant for two years or more would be made on condition that the plant be kept in operation. If a monopoly-minded operator tried to keep a plant out of operation in the interest of scarcity and high prices, the government might then rescind the contract and recover the plant.

As a direct rebuke to Clayton, the Senate bill specifically calls for a reversal of his land-disposal policy. It removes surplus land from the control of the RFC and the National Association of Real Estate Boards and instead turns it over to the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture jointly, with definite instructions favoring return of land to its former owner, his heirs or tenants, or preferential sale to returning war veterans. Emphasis is laid on the importance of administering surplus-land disposal so as to increase the number of economic family-size farms.

The Stewart-Murray-Taft bill empowers the Smaller War Plants Corporation to make loans to, or direct purchases for, small businesses if this is necessary for them to claim their share of the surpluses available. The Attorney General is authorized to veto any plans for disposal that in his opinion would contribute to monopoly. Local governments, schools, hospitals and other tax-free institutions are allowed special discounts on such purchases as they make for public purposes.

The surplus-property-disposal bill presented by the Senate Military Affairs Committee is a long way from perfect, but it comes so much closer to meeting the need for an intelligent bill than does the Clayton plan that it has taken on a kind of halo. A great deal of thought and study went into the preparation of the Stewart-Murray-Taft bill, not just by the Senators whose names it bears but by the Military Affairs Committee as a whole. Men like Hill of Alabama and O'Mahoney of Wyoming were reflecting the deep concern of a large majority of the committee when they repeatedly reprimanded Clayton for his primary interest in selling off our surpluses fast, and at a high price.

That is the way the Congress lines up. The decision there will come in the conference committee which has to effect a compromise. In this case, progressives will be hoping that the Senate conferees will prevail.

But farmers, labor and industry all have their opinions of what should be done too. The National Association of Manufacturers is in favor of turning surplus-property disposal over to a board of business men, selling it off in a hurry in such a way as to protect existing enterprise and cut taxes. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States favors the same general kind of plan, and urges scrapping all plants and facilities that private industry does not buy up quickly. Both seem pleased enough with the Clayton plan.

The CIO wants to see full use of the new plant capacity and wants the government to require a guarantee that any purchaser of a plant "will fully utilize its entire productive capacity." The AFL, too, emphasizes the need to use these plants to ensure full employment.

National Farmers' Union president James G. Patton has been more courageous and outspoken in his stand on the question than any other progressive leader. He has called for the removal of Will Clayton now, on the ground that under his policies "the powerful financial interests represented in and associated with the National Association of Real Estate Boards and its affiliated organizations are dominating land-disposal programs of the government," and that under this set-up "in the long run dominance of American agriculture by big farm and big business interests will be further entrenched."

In summary, the administration, labor, small farmers and a considerable part of the business group favor surplus-disposal policies which will do most to bring about full production and full employment. The Republican opposition, the usual number of Southern Democrats, representatives of commercial farmers and those business men who stand for scarcity production are more concerned to preserve their present competitive advantage than to attain full employment.

Those who put full employment first are agreed on certain basic points: "Productive facilities must be turned over to those who will use them to full capacity. Consumer goods should be sold in such a way as to help prevent postwar inflation as well as dumping. Small business and the family farm must be protected in getting their full share of property they can use. Community plans to use surplus property should be encouraged."

Congress will decide between prosperity for all the people or huge profits for a few.

Washington HELEN FULLER

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Life Under the Robot Bombs

WHAT IS LIFE LIKE in London nowadays? It is not very pleasant; but there is no doubt at all that Londoners—and the inhabitants of other towns reached by the robot bombs—can stick it out for the necessary length of time.

When the new robot-bomb blitz began, Londoners were irritated. Now that the second front had started at last and the news from Normandy was the only news, Londoners had felt that their part in the war was over. They were no longer in the front line as they had been in the remembered days of the great blitz. In their fifth year of war they were tired and, as in September, 1940, it took them about two weeks to acclimatize themselves to this strange new weapon.

For the planes without pilots were uncanny, as Herbert Morrison emphasized when he unfortunately called them pilotless planes and as newspapers also stressed when they discussed robot bombs. In retrospect, planes with pilots seemed comparatively civilized. You could shoot at the pilots, who were men of flesh and blood. Pilots at least tried to aim at targets. But the new things zoomed into the city and, at a moment chosen by fate, cut off their engines and plunged mercilessly at your home or somebody else's. In millions of houses people lay awake at night and listened to the distant roar coming nearer until the chug, chug of the motor could be distinguished. Then they began to hope that the noise would pass over. One writer said that what he minded most was the selfishness which the bombs inspired: he could not help hoping that they would pass over, even though he realized he was praying that they would fall on someone else.

Anderson Shelters, long unused, were hurriedly cleaned out. Shelter wardens arrived to take up duty once more. Thousands of people went back to the tube stations to sleep. Once again late travelers had to step carefully to avoid the children huddled in the underground corridors. And gradually London began to settle down. It was difficult to adapt to twenty-four-hour-a-day raids. For a while office and factory work was disrupted. But people whose houses had not been hit, people whose houses were not on the main bomb highways, and people who were able to sleep, found themselves becoming accustomed to the flying bombs as they had to the Junkers before them.

One difference was that Civil Defense was organized far more efficiently than in 1940. Then it had not been realized that for each person killed there would be many homeless. Consequently post-raid ARP services to care for the bombed-out had to be improvised almost overnight. This time all was in readiness. The wardens' service, in particular, operated like clockwork. Within a few minutes of an explosion wardens had usually called in the necessary ambulance, light, rescue and fire services. These were sometimes racing to the scene of the incident within two minutes of the explosion.

By July 6, when Mr. Churchill reported to the House of Commons, Londoners had taken the measure of the flying bomb. It was clear that blast was a greater menace than in 1940: windows three or four hundred yards from an explosion were shattered. Some of the blast effects were pure Disney. It was quite common for front doors to be lifted up to the second floor. One friend of mine was eating a bowl of soup in front of an open window; the blast whipped all the soup out of the bowl and deposited it round the corner in the bathroom; otherwise the room was untouched. The poplars outside another friend's house were stripped of all their leaves; his house was undamaged. A man sitting at his meal was propelled backwards past the dining-room door, while the front door remained intact.

Most of the casualties were caused by glass. Grim warnings began to appear in the press. "The trouble," said The New Statesman on July 8, "is glass. . . . Powdered glass may be driven deep into you; doctors tell me that you may literally have to have your face cut right away to save your life, and that almost all of these ghastly and mostly non-fatal casualties are avoidable. When danger is immediate, lie right down, cover your face, away from glass. Have your windows thickly covered or even taken out where you can; or, if you can't do either, put a wardrobe or some other heavy object between you and the window—which, by the way, should be open. When you have eliminated this one serious risk, then add courage to sense and work on as if nothing was happening."

There was a stream of good and bad stories. In the first days one of the favorite cartoons had shown two planeless pilots shooting through the sky. The bombs were quickly given the gift of speech. According to one story that was popular for a few days, the bomb said to the Spitfire pilot in answer to a question, "Wouldn't *you* go fast if *your* tail was on fire?" In the middle of July this one was repeated in every pub: "I see it like this," said the Cockney, when asked why he didn't seem more worried. "It must take the Germans a lot of trouble to make the bloody things, and then they have to get them into those pits and up into the air, and it is quite a long way from France to London, and if they do get to London, they have still got to find Hackney. And even then, it isn't everyone can find 37 Bulstrode Road, and if they do, ten to one I am in the pub."

By August 3, when Mr. Churchill made his second report, there was no longer any novelty in the new

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raids. He said that close on a million people had been evacuated from London and that, to that date, 5,340 flying bombs had been launched, 4,735 persons killed, 14,000 persons more or less seriously injured, 17,000 houses totally destroyed and 800,000 damaged. [20 lines censored.] The startlingly high number of houses damaged is tribute to the power of the blast.

Several people have said how grateful they were that the flying bombs had made their appearance at the end of this war: the world would appreciate the consequences of again losing the peace. For those attacked it has been harassing and exciting; for the world it has been an object-lesson.

London MICHAEL YOUNG

When the Veterans Come Home

WELL, PRIVATE JONES, that was the army. And now the war is over and you have received your honorable discharge. What's next?

Probably you want a rest, and a change of clothes, and a chance to see some of your old friends. And then —a job? Don't worry. All you need do is come back, ask for the old job, and settle into the familiar groove again. Even if your former employer doesn't want to rehire you he must, because the law says so.

Ah, but the law doesn't say exactly that. The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, which has helped put close to eleven million men into uniform in the past three and a half years, does provide that if a man was drafted from a job, "other than a temporary position," in private industry, and if he "is still qualified to perform the duties of such position," his former employer must "restore such person to such position or to a position of like seniority, status and pay unless the employer's circumstances have so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to do so." It further provides that persons drafted from federal Civil Service jobs, and still able to do the work, must be rehired, and that "it is . . . the sense of Congress" that state and local governments should likewise rehire veterans. Other laws have extended the same reëmployment privileges to men who enlisted voluntarily, to officers, to women in the armed services and to men in the merchant marine. Members of the Coast Guard Auxiliary and conscientious objectors are not covered.

There are big "ifs" in the reëmployment laws, some of them obvious, some not so clear. To begin with, of course, there is no protection for the veteran who had no job before going into service. There were seven and a half million unemployed when the Selective Service Act went into effect in 1940; many of them enlisted or were drafted without having found a job. Another large group consists of boys who went into service directly from school; Brigadier-General Hines, Administrator of Retraining and Reëmployment, has estimated that this group comprises one-third of all men in service. Some of them will return to school, but many will feel that they have outgrown their books.

The federal civil-service law provides a preference system for war veterans, and some will doubtless apply for government jobs. The fact is, however, that the government service is not likely to grow during the immediate postwar period.

The next "if" is disguised, but not too subtly. The law protects the job rights of employees now in the service, but it specifically excludes temporary workers. Since December 7, 1941, many employers—including the federal government—have made clear to new workers that their jobs are "for the duration only." Even before the war, a number of large companies put new workers on trial, the probationary periods ranging from three months up to a year or more. Furthermore, only the first man entering service from a given job has reëmployment rights; his successors rank as temporary employees.

To get his old job back, the veteran must make formal application within forty days after receiving his discharge. Quite a few will lose their rights because of this requirement. Thousands who have already been discharged from service have gone into war work, many of them being released for employment at a specific job in an essential industry; such men are forfeiting their postwar-reëmployment rights.

Assuming that a man left a permanent job to enter the service, and that he makes proper application for reëmployment, the boss need not take him back if he can no longer do the work. Physical, mental or neuropsychiatric handicaps resulting from battle experiences may have rendered him incapable of handling his former job. The Veterans' Administration, in coöperation with other government agencies, has developed a rehabilitation program, but some men will remain permanently disabled. While public opinion may force the employer to rehire the veteran at any job he can handle, there is no legal compulsion to do so.

It is true that soldiers and sailors have received valuable training while in service: many are now expert mechanics, radio men, engineers, linguists, administrators. The War Manpower Commission has prepared detailed analyses of the specialized training given the men in uniform, with a guide to the civilian occupations in which the job skills can be used. Most employees will be happy to rehire such veterans at more skilled jobs than the men held before the war—*if* the jobs are there. If not, the employer's legal obligation does not extend beyond reëmployment at the

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old job. In such cases, the specialized training may create additional difficulties of readjustment for the veteran. Consider the man who left a routine, low-paying job to become an ace fighter pilot. Will ex-Captain Jones be content to go back to his job as delivery boy, bank runner or printer's devil?

Already, spot-check surveys of serviceman opinion have been conducted in widely separated areas by the USO, the Committee for Economic Development and others. While the findings cannot be considered scientifically accurate, they are indicative: some 40 percent of the men in uniform revealed that they do not want and do not intend to return to their prewar jobs.

Let us say, however, that the veteran is physically and mentally capable of handling his old job, and that he will be able to make the necessary emotional readjustment. He still may not get the job back if it is "impossible or unreasonable" for the employer to give it to him. The law offers no definition of these terms. The Veterans' Personnel Division of Selective Service, which is charged with protecting the reëmployment rights of ex-servicemen, is vague on the point. We may expect that in cases of doubt the law will be interpreted for the benefit of veterans, but even the assurance on this score has come informally, rather than in an official statement.

Finally, the law provides that when the employer has rehired a returning veteran, he may not dismiss him without cause for one year. "What is 'cause'," says Selective Service, "must be determined . . . by standards of common sense." One man's common sense, of course, may be another man's poison. But at the end of the year, even this legal safeguard ceases, and the veteran is on the same basis as his fellow workers.

In cases where the employer's legal obligation to rehire the veteran is nullified by any of these circumstances, the ex-serviceman may still receive assistance from the government. With the aid of the Veterans' Administration, the Veterans' Representative of the United States Employment Service and the office of vocational rehabilitation of the Federal Security Agency, the ex-serviceman may be able to find another job. But without further legal protection, he will be no better off than millions of former war workers, except for the vaguely grateful support of a sentimental public.

Clearly, the solution is not to amend the reëmployment law. A firm that has gone out of business cannot rehire former employees, no matter what the law says. A firm whose business has decreased cannot take men back without firing others. In the summer of 1943, President Roosevelt offered the country a 96-point program for reabsorbing the servicemen into civilian life. On one of these points—mustering-out pay—Congress has taken constructive action. Tentative, inadequate steps toward meeting some of the other recommendations are included in the Servicemen's Readjustment Act. The real task of Congress and the country remains to provide security for all, through a high level of economic activity.

After the war, when the country starts getting back to the normalcy that the full-page ads tell us the servicemen want, what will the situation be? At the very moment when men are discharged from the services in large numbers, the nation's economy will be in the state closest to chaos. Large-scale reconversion, estimated to take from six months to two years, will begin, and most industries will need comparatively few workers for the transition period until full production can get under way again. Simultaneously with the servicemen, millions of war workers will find themselves unemployed and competing for the same jobs. The consuming public, noting a drop in employment and feeling insecure as to the future, may hoard rather than spend its wartime savings.

Selective demobilization of servicemen offers a partial answer. If the Selective Service System shifts into reverse gear, releasing men in the order in which their skills are required in civilian life, industry may be able to reabsorb the men over a period of time. Rather than this logical arrangement, however, a politically conscious administration and Congress are far more likely to heed appeals from lonely wives and mothers, who want their men back as soon as the military hostilities end. In any event, this measure in itself would make no provision for the workers disemployed by the shift from a war to a peace economy.

A second partial solution would be strengthening of the United States Employment Service. Actually, the USES has been federalized only for the duration, and is slated for decentralization again after the emergency. It is not likely that the states'-rights advocates will permit a permanent national employment service.

There is another phase of postwar planning which holds some promise for employment of veterans. The Department of Agriculture and other government agencies are studying the possibility of providing farm land and equipment for returning servicemen. However, experience has shown that the administration proposes and Congress disposes.

Organized labor has also made plans for the reemployment of veterans. A number of unions are including in their contracts clauses designed to give the returning workers more complete job protection than the men have under the law. In addition, at least one international union is preparing to set aside a cash fund for returning workers. Clearly, however, labor cannot meet the responsibility alone, particularly when some employers are using the veterans' job-priorities as an anti-union weapon.

More than sixteen million of the workers now employed are women. It is true that many of them are eager to return to their homes. Unless they are discharged, however, they will tend to remain at work

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until their men find satisfactory jobs. At this point the unhappy circle is completed, for in a restricted economy every job held by a woman means one job less for a man; moreover, the employment of women results in lower wage levels in many industries.

The problem of jobs for veterans, then, is the problem of jobs for all. Solution of the problem assumes a program of full production, underwritten by government financing and involving public works, if necessary. It assumes an intelligent tax structure and a system of unhampered international trade. Neither public relief, private charity nor a tremendous standing army is an adequate substitute. A comprehensive program of social security is necessary, but in itself it is not sufficient; even the Beveridge Report warns that England must maintain reasonably full employment for the social-security program to succeed. The veterans' task of readjustment to civilian life will be difficult enough in the best of circumstances, involving as it does so many psychological and emotional problems. Without job security it will be close to impossible.

The former soldier selling poppies is perhaps more pathetic than the former war worker peddling apples. Actually, they stand side by side on the same street corner, and both are symptoms of the same social illness.

LEOPOLD LIPPMAN

Consumers Find Themselves

RATION BOOKS are the diplomas awarded by the school of wartime experience, certifying each American to be a consumer. A producer-minded people whose attention had been focused upon income learns through them of its right to an equal share of certain products. Outgo is underscored as important by these OPA coupons, and bottlenecks in distribution assume significance as interfering with equity in a possible abundance.

Thus may be explained the increase of nearly one-fourth in the business of consumer coöperatives recorded for 1942. This new economic society growing within the structure of the present system has become a billion-dollar business, with more than four million members.

The new interest in eliminating waste and needless tolls in retail and wholesale distribution recognizes that living costs are merely the obverse of the coin of wages. With no likelihood of being misunderstood, it becomes possible for R. J. Thomas, president of the United Auto Workers, to advise union members that a reduction in the cost of living would be preferable to a rise in pay.

One of the postwar objectives announced by Walter Reuther, vice-president of the auto union, is the establishment of a "broad consumer-coöperative movement such as that in Sweden, to give the workers and producers the most for their money." As a matter of fact, consumer coöperatives in the United States now have twice as many members and three times as much business as those in Sweden.

On a percentage basis, of course, the picture looks different. In Sweden, and in Norway too, one-third of the families are coöperators. Swedish consumer societies cover more than 11 percent of all retail trade, and have 20 percent of the grocery business. While cooperatives in Britain have 10 percent of the retail total, in the United States it is estimated that these associations do only 1.3 percent of the civilian retail business. Farm coöperatives here, however, distributing one-fifth of such supplies as tractor fuel, feed and fertilizer, now are turning to mass distribution of groceries and household goods.

It is from the grass-roots development of agricultural marketing that much of the strength of the present consumer movement has sprung. In times of crop failure, farmers functioned less as producers and recognized themselves as consumers. Just when power farming had ended rural self-sufficiency, a long depression forced farmers to realize that they had been doing what no successful enterprise ever did, selling at wholesale and buying their equipment at retail.

Farm wives who saw their husbands buy a new tin roof or a milk separator through a coöperative agency were not slow to ask why household supplies could not be obtained through the same channel. And in the towns motorists soon found that gasoline and oil could be had through coöperative wholesales and filling stations jointly serving urban and rural members. Thus it has come about that nine oil refineries now are owned coöperatively. The movement has found a place among the largest independent petroleum operators and comprises oil wells, pipelines and other transport facilities, including tank cars, towboats and barges and fleets of tank trucks for farm-to-farm deliveries.

Gasoline and groceries are basic coöperative items, but the consumer movement covers almost all human activities, including more than 2,500 stores and buying clubs, 4 hospitals and some 40 undertaking establishments. One general-purpose society runs a motion-picture theatre. Another has a huckster truck, and there is also a meat truck with a butcher aboard. There are cooperative bookstores, cafeterias, apartments, bakeries, meat-processing plants and freezer lockers, garages, recreation camps, and campus co-ops providing student board and lodging. More than 100 factories are cooperatively owned, and operated under conventional employer-employee relationships.

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With adequate local outlets established, and the volume of demand closely estimated, expansion into manufacturing has been natural, in the effort to roll back another margin and at the same time exercise control over quality. The opposition of commercial interests to such safeguards as grade labeling of canned goods only feeds consumer consciousness; co-ops have been selling by grade for years.

Many simple products in which trade custom has vested a wide margin of profit have provided opportunities for consumer production, among these cosmetics, fly spray and soft drinks, a newcomer being Co-op Cola. There are vegetable canneries, flour and feed mills, paint factories, fertilizer works and farm-implement establishments making everything from milking machines, tractors and corn-pickers, to hoes. One overall organization, National Coöperatives, Inc., pools the buying power of 16 regional associations with 937,000 members and combined sales of $129,000,000 last year. Business grew one-fourth in 1943, and net savings increased one-half, to a total of $5,659,000.

Not taken into account in this consumer list are specialized forms of mutual aid such as credit unions or insurance associations, nor is the huge business of farm-commodity marketing considered, which represents producer or profit interest rather than consumer saving. Often in computing consumer business the purchasing of farm supplies is ignored. The present estimates not only include these purchases but also the $5 million income of rural telephone mutuals and the 850 rural-electrification coöperatives owning transmission lines and power plants and doing an annual business of $35 million.

If consumer coöperation were no more than an economic expedient, instead of including a sense of social responsibility, it would have been killed off long ago by commercial opposition. One is not likely to think of the gasoline stations that represent coöperation along Middle Western highways as having a spiritual significance, but many a motorist must have caught a brief vision in these words painted on the wall of a coöperative at Wilmington, Ohio: "In this age of potential plenty, we must devote ourselves, not to the art of getting ourselves ahead of others, but to the greater art of getting ahead *with* others through economic coöperation."

Another sign, in a large grocery operated by Negroes on Chicago's south side, reads simply: "Every dollar spent in a co-op is a vote for economic justice." One of 12 buying clubs in St. Paul and Minneapolis already has blossomed into a store, with a membership of 200 Negro and white families, each investing $5 a share. Consumer organization is being urged by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as a means of controlling the economic life of Negro communities and providing opportunity for employment.

Consumer groups throughout the world are this year celebrating the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the British coöperative at Rochdale, which stressed the combination of principles now generally observed in all countries:

Open membership, without regard to race, religion or politics.

Democratic control, each member having only one vote, irrespective of his number of shares.

Limited interest on share capital.

Patronage refunds by which surplus earnings are returned to members in proportion to their total of purchases, so that business is done at cost.

The Rochdale Pioneers also provided that "no credit should be given or required," and set aside a definite percentage of their annual savings for educational purposes. Their practice of selling goods at regular market prices also is generally followed, as a means of avoiding price wars and of making it possible to pay a patronage refund likely to attract new members.

In most cases patronage refunds are computed also for non-members and credited toward purchase of a share of stock. Members will often vote to let their savings remain in the coöperative revolving fund to build up operating capital. These savings simply represent what has been charged in excess of cost.

Profit enterprise in the United States is now being organized to collar this margin for purposes of taxation, the objective being public confiscation of that portion of the savings of the coöperatives which is being used to expand into the field of production. The answer to this heavily financed counter-attack is that purchasing co-ops do not pay federal or state income taxes because, under the Sixteenth Amendment, income cannot be realized in the purchase of a commodity, even though it be bought far below the going price.

Consumer coöperation frequently begins with the setting up of a small buying club, possibly as the outgrowth of a community discussion group. The first step may be formation of a credit union, as a means of thrift and mutual aid through small loans for emergencies. Sometimes purchases of coal are pooled, but more often a food-buying group is formed.

Typical of such clubs is one developed out of a weekly study group in the basement of a church. Canned goods, shortening, sugar and other kitchen staples are trucked in by a coöperative wholesale and stored on basement shelves in the residence of a member. It is the hope of this buying club eventually to combine with similar groups in the same city to open a store. In recent years, when several such stores have arisen in a section, they have formed a joint purchasing agency, with a network of regional wholesales owned and controlled by the consumers themselves.

Some of the oldest and most successful consumer enterprises grew independently of the rural impulse that in recent years has been most active in spreading

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the idea of consumerism. A business of more than one million dollars a year in Waukegan, Illinois, grew out of a housewives' milk strike 34 years ago. The fresh cans of milk these steel workers' wives brought in from a farm developed into a coöperative dairy, ice-cream plant, grocery stores, filling stations and bakery.

It was through the Range Coöperative Federation of Virginia, Minnesota, another million-dollar business, that Indiana auto workers were drawn into a coöperative. For several years they had puzzled over orders to equip certain autos for sale in Minnesota with tires, sparkplugs and batteries of the unfamiliar brand, "Co-op." Finally the manager of the coöperative sales agency came from the Iron Range to drive back a new car, and as a result of his explanation, ten members of a union educational class ventured eight dollars in a grocery order to a coöperative wholesale in Chicago. Later a small store was set up on the bar of the union hall, and now a modern grocery shares the first floor of a new union building with the local's credit union.

In industrial centers many labor leaders see in the consumer movement a new objective capable of holding their membership together at a time when wage and job freezing has temporarily deprived unionism of many of its functions.

The new consumer consciousness has never included a feeling of rebellion, but instead has engendered a neighborly spirit that is resolved to make the best of the opportunities for a free society. Property rights are not challenged, but enhanced, by the spread of ownership and control. Definite betterment of the standard of living goes beyond savings on purchases of goods of assured quality to generally widening horizons, including the constructive use of leisure.

Bound up in the movement also is a moral conviction that is attempting to substitute the aim of satisfying human need for the pursuit of profit as the main motive of economic activity. By this standard, the holders of ration coupons do not exist for the sake of the processors or the handlers of these commodities, but industries involved exist to serve the rationed populace.

In so far as it has a political side, consumer coöperation represents a collection of rugged individualists who have joined to do those things for themselves that they believe they can do better than either private-profit enterprise or an aggrandized state. They are alert to legislation that might make it difficult or impossible for consumers to use the coöperative method.

In an age when economic liberty has been so circumscribed by state control and corporate monopoly that there remains small field for individual activity, these voluntary associations are striving to think their way through to a new and genuine democracy. A nation divided in interests as producers, torn on the political front by pressure groups, could in an economy of abundance find unity as consumers. In the decentralizing nature of coöperative economic control from the bottom up, as opposed to state or cartel control from the top down, the outlines of a feasible social order begin to appear.

PAUL GREER

Russia's Postwar Aims

WHAT IS RUSSIAN POLICY in the postwar world? What does she hope, and what does she expect? A few words on this subject, as it looks here in Moscow, may be appropriate.

First of all, Russia desires the closest friendly relationships with the Western democracies after the war. She is especially eager for business connections with the United States and Canada. Russia expects to regain her old territory in the postwar settlement. This includes the Baltic States, Bessarabia and as far as the Curzon Line in Poland. In no circumstances will she waive these claims.

Three major aspects of Russia's postwar relationships are: (1) control of communist propaganda in foreign countries; (2) trade and aviation agreements; and (3) international organization.

With regard to the first, Russia intends to keep her hands off bordering states unless they become centers of intrigue and armed action against her. It is my belief that Russia doesn't now want to spread communism to foreign countries. She would even prefer not to have communist governments in border states; on the other hand, she doesn't want a "cordon sanitaire" of governments plotting against her. She definitely wants governments which are democratic and friendly. The kind of government Russia welcomes is that typified by Czecho-Slovakia—one she can trust.

I recently toured Rumania, now occupied by the Red Army. Here the Russians are leaning over backwards not to interfere. Rumanians are carrying on their own government and business in their own way.

When Iceland recently declared her independence from Denmark almost all the people, including the local Communist Party, were favorable, yet Russia scrupulously refrained from showing her attitude. Indeed, the Russian representative was the one member of the diplomatic corps who wasn't given special credentials for the formal celebrations—a good instance of Russia's desire not to interfere in internal affairs.

In the case of Poland, Russia believes the Polish Government-in-Exile in London has been definitely hostile. She demanded investigation of the charges that she had murdered in cold blood 10,000 Polish officers. Instead of coöperating with the Red Army as

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Czecho-Slovakia did, the Poles took their legions to Italy. As Polish soil was liberated, the Polish Committee of National Liberation was formed. Conversations have been in progress between this group and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Prime Minister of the London Polish government, who has recently been here. Indications are that some compromise will be reached, providing for one acting government body.

With regard to aviation and trade: Russia is willing to coöperate in plans for world aviation. She believes that since she controls one-sixth of the land surface of the earth, no sound agreement can be reached without her support.

Russia would like to obtain long-term credits of some $5 billion, running from 20 to 25 years, from this country. When Eric Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, was here, Stalin assured him that mutually satisfactory terms could be arranged. It is generally thought Russia would want capital goods, including heavy machinery, locomotives and other railway equipment, road-building machinery, machine tools, ships and consumer goods. Russia could repay this loan over a period of years with such products as gold, manganese, nickel, timber and furs.

There is small chance of serious Russian competition in international markets for a long time. Vast areas have been laid waste by enemy action. Millions of buildings must be repaired or entirely rebuilt. Citizens have been wearing clothes patched and repatched and bought before the war. New supplies must now be distributed and living standards raised for all. This will require at least two decades.

Russia has long been favorable to postwar international organization. This was recognized in the Soviet-Polish declaration signed in 1941 by Stalin and the late General Sikorski, and reaffirmed in the Moscow Conference in 1943. Just what kind of organization does Russia want? Recently a well known Soviet authority, Enn Malinin, published an article on this subject, which undoubtedly reflects the Russian position. Malinin vigorously criticizes the present League of Nations because for 15 years it not only ignored the Soviet Union, but displayed definite hostility toward it. He declares, "It is even possible to say, therefore, that the League of Nations was born in sin." And he goes on to say, "Even after the entry of the Soviet Union, many of its proposals were rejected, not so much because of their essence as because they proceeded out of the Soviet state."

Malinin opposes the requirement of unanimity in the League assembly. He suggests for a new association that while routine questions could be decided by a majority, major questions should require a two-thirds vote. He proposes that "responsibility for guarding the peace must not be divided among 60 or more states, but must rest upon those few big states which have the real force necessary for the purpose." He quotes with approval Sir Arthur Salter's statement: "All states, whether great or small, must be equal in their right to justice, but it does not follow that they must possess the same influence or the same right to vote in the determination of policy."

Malinin proposes that the genuinely guiding and deciding role in the new organization must be assumed by China, Great Britain, Soviet Russia and the United States. This is all the more necessary because, in the face of aggression, decisions must be made instantly, and cannot wait for a League assembly. It is extremely significant that he desires the decision of the inner group to be unanimous, thus giving veto power to any one of the Big Four. Malinin believes "even the most self-assured maniac of the Hitler type will be forced to think ten times before venturing on a decisive clash with such a bloc."

Three types of punitive action are proposed for the new organization: (1) By breaking diplomatic, commercial and financial relations; (2) by blockading; and (3) by aerial and naval demonstrations. He opposes an international police force, but is willing to have an international air corps which could be used to warn or punish an aggressor.

Whenever the Big Four took immediate action, it would later be referred to a general meeting of all states. Malinin feels the organization should concentrate all its attention on large problems having a direct relationship to the peaceful resolution of future conflicts. He opposes having an international labor organization in conjunction with a security organization.

How does Russia propose that the constitution of this international body should be adopted? She proposes that it be formulated by a commission of the four great powers and then be submitted to a conference of all the United Nations, who would become founders and original members. After this, neutral states would be admitted, and finally Germany and her satellites. But Malinin proposes that any state which propagandizes in favor of, and practises, racial, religious and national discrimination, or adheres to the theory of the domination of one nation or race, be expelled. It is especially significant that Russia now opposes religious intolerance.

The Soviet Union wants to work with the rest of the world. In the postwar world she doesn't want to foist communism off on other nations by force, revolution or propaganda. She wants to be given a chance to rebuild her own country in her own way and to enjoy a long period of peace and prosperity. If the Western world organizes blocs against the Soviet Union, then peace is impossible. As Raymond Robbins recommended at the start of the Russian Revolution, the way of friendship and understanding of Russia is the only road to international peace.

Moscow (by cable) JEROME DAVIS

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Washington Notes

Playing Politics with Jobs

WITH SEPTEMBER, the political pot starts to boil. Mr. Dewey goes into political eruption soon and for the Democrats Harry S. Truman will shortly be notified that he is running for Vice President.

Congress wants to recess for the election and is apt to leave Washington and stay away till mid-November. Its record since killing the old National Resources Planning Board has been consistently reactionary, and one gets a certain horrified satisfaction over seeing the complete absence of understanding of the need of supporting full employment and mass purchasing power. Senate conservatives passed the George bill, but the House Ways and Means Committee then picked its dry bones. The bill, of course, is a states'-rights measure, turning the problem of cushioning postwar unemployment over to the inadequate treasuries of the states. But the House committee went further: It eliminated the two or three million federal employees from the insufficient safeguards and left them outside the demobilization unemployment benefits. It made no provision for farm workers, domestic servants, employees of small firms not covered by state systems, merchant seamen and many others. It deleted the Senate's retraining provisions, and the plan to pay migrant workers' fares home. Its amendments made the original George bill look liberal.

Congress is serving notice on war workers that there is going to be an employment slump after the war, and at the same time is disturbed by the workers who are taking the hint and quitting jobs for something safer now. The congressmen with whom I talk, on the average, seem to take the matter pretty calmly; they assume a temporary postwar maladjustment with a lot of idle workers, hint complacently that this may be "a good thing" after all, in "getting us back to normal" (which means putting uppish labor in its place) and close their ears to economists' warnings. Well, we shall see.

Mr. Roosevelt has taken little part in the fight. The inadequacy of the proposed bill offers a platform for stating his views if he wants to take it, perhaps when the compromise measure finally reaches the White House. Realistically, it must be said that not only is this Congress conservative but that there is every indication, I am afraid, that the next will be conservative too, even if Mr. Roosevelt wins. Party labels are pretty meaningless in this sort of approach. Never was a time when independent voters could do more good by examining the voting record rather than the professions, or politics, of the candidates.

John Foster Dulles has appeared—limping—in Washington, been surveyed by the press, and has created, on the whole, a favorable impression. It was amusing in its way to see him hobbling down the tiled corridors of the ancient State Department, the suave, shrewd, deaconish head-partner of Wall Street's richest law firm, apparently willing if not eager to be photographed, while Hull hurried him on. Unquestionably there were political overtones at every step of the visit of Mr. Dewey's foreign adviser, but so far as one can see here, the upshot presents a happy omen for political harmony on foreign policy and constitutes a remarkable and heartening step. Speaking as just one correspondent, it is rather pleasant, too, to have dealings with Mr. Dulles, who gives a concrete answer at an interview instead of one of Mr. Hull's amazingly amorphous replies. Of course Mr. Hull has the responsibility of office and must guard what he says. Yet even if Mr. Dulles never becomes Secretary of State, one must thank him for much. For example, bridging the gap from Mr. Dewey's campaign utterance in isolationist Wisconsin in 1940, that "We cannot possibly remain strong and free unless we reject every entanglement in the affairs of Europe."

A CIO official of national prominence points out a serious weakness of the Political Action Committee. In foreign labor movements there is a distinct political party with a separate organization. But the PAC is an adjunct of the CIO with few additional workers and an inadequate organization. The job necessarily falls on the bowed shoulders of the harassed shop steward. He is called upon to get the men registered and undertake all the other political drudgery, in addition to his regular chores, generally without extra pay. This PAC structural weakness was obvious at the start of the pioneering experiment, but it is making itself felt more than ever now. Yet the task of registration is obviously of first importance from the Roosevelt standpoint. It seems to be a political axiom this year that a small electoral vote will aid Dewey, a large outpouring, Roosevelt. An Associated Press study indicates that the vote this year is not likely to equal the 1940 figure of 50 millions.

Notes: Speculation continues on a new Roosevelt-Churchill meeting but is based more on the logic of military events than on any specific knowledge. . . . WPB Chairman Donald Nelson almost certainly won't come back to his old position on return from China; he intimated as much when he took plane from Washington. . . . Almost unnoticed, the Senate has approved the bill setting up a joint committee to review and reform congressional machinery: hitherto Congress has assailed executive inefficiency while refusing to put its own madhouse in order. . . . Original plans, it is understood, called for the capture of Cherbourg a week after D-Day, June 6, and Paris after three months. . . . The British assert that implementation of Bretton Woods monetary proposals is essential for agreement at the Dumbarton Oaks Security Conference; they seem to feel you shouldn't lose sight of the Woods for the Oaks. . . . The Committee for Economic Development will unveil its long prepared tax proposals in a few days; they will plump for full employment, a national income of $140 billion, the lightening of corporation taxes and emphasis on a graduated personal income tax. . . . The WPB estimates war production will be slashed 40 percent when Germany surrenders; some argue the cruelest blow Japan could inflict on the United States would be to surrender with Germany—with some 15 million war jobs involved and no preparation by Congress. It would be a Pearl Harbor of Peace.

Washington T.R.B.

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Comic Strips

COMIC STRIPS are not what they used to be. Those in The New York Post, which are the ones I read, are getting increasingly genteel, naturalistic and like the movies, moving away from the broad comedy of their beginnings and into the pulp field. The old style in comic strips was to trip everything—drawing, dialogue, place, action—for laughs. The new style is almost never concerned with being funny; rather it tries to be as much like a soap opera as possible. The stories are either very gentle affairs full of clichés, corn and cozy morals (Mary Worth says: "I always thought old age was a genial companion"), or they are full of adventures starring a child named Dickie Dare, a woman in a slinky evening gown which is being endlessly ripped off named Miss Fury—easily one of the most difficult comics to follow—and the man in the union suit named Superman, easily the least romantic figure of all time.

The technique and behavior in comic strips have been increasingly refined. Nowadays they show all kinds of people how to act, look, and what to expect from life, with a craftsmanship that is as flashy, high-powered and canny as the best advertising art in Vogue. Their drawing has become as realistic as it formerly was comically distorted and imaginative. A living example of this development goes on daily in the Post comic, "Debbie Dean," which started looking as if its artist were drawing with wooden slats rather than pen and ink; since then everything in it has been dramatically and slowly turning more realistic and less wooden. The other comic which started recently in The Post, "The Goldbergs," indicates how well meaning and well mannered they have become. In the early days of the comics, some national group was ragged by almost every cartoon in a crudely comic or merely vulgar way: the Swedes caught it daily in "Yens Yenson," the French in "Alphonse and Gaston," the Germans in the "Katzenjammers," the Irish in three or four strips, and the Jews in "Abie the Agent"; in that strip, Abie Kabibble was ridiculed for his Jewishness in dialect, dress, profession, look and every action. "The Goldbergs"—taking up the old custom and particularly the Jews—is thoroughly civilized, dedicated to good works like encouraging nurseries, and is an awfully weak sort of pleasantness: the loss in intent since "Abie" died and "The Goldbergs" was born has been far more than one of ridiculing nationalities.

The Post runs three daily comics, called "Nancy," "The Bungle Family" and "Silly Milly," and two ancients on Saturday, "The Captain and the Kids" and "Mutt and Jeff," which seem to deserve the name of comic and are holding out against the movies. It is probable that "Nancy" is the best comic today, principally because it combines a very strong, independent imagination with a simplification of the best tradition of comic drawing. "Nancy" is daily concerned with making a pictorial gag either about or on the affairs of a group of bright, unsentimental children who have identical fire-plug shapes, two-foot heights, inch-long names (Sluggo, Winky, Tilly, Nancy) and genial, self-possessed temperaments. This comic has a remarkable, brave, vital energy that its artist, Ernie Bushmiller, gets partly from seeing landscape in large clear forms and then walking his kids, whom he sees in the same way, with great strength and well being, through them. Bushmiller's kids have wonderfully integrated personalities combining smart sociability with tough independence. They also have wonderful heads of hair—Sluggo hasn't any and calls his a "baldy bean," Nancy's is a round black cap with prickles, Tilly has an upsweep tied around the middle like a shock of wheat. "Nancy" is one of the few dominantly pantomimic strips left ("Cicero," the baggy cat, being another).

Stan MacGovern's "Silly Milly" very insolently and precociously kids news items in three or four daily take-offs, starring the heroine. Silly Milly is drawn in typical MacGovern style, as though by a wind current, and has a prehistoric animal for a hair-do, a very expressive, giant-sized eye, and a perfectly oval profile. It is one of those comics with animated decor, like "Smoky Stover," with adjoining family portraits shaking hands, and one that tries for laughs in every part of the box. It has its pet vocabulary —all names are Frammis, laughter is Yuk Yuk, and the language of animals is Coo. It is the most sophisticated of comics, smart-alecky, corny, sloppy and half unlikable, but produces its eyedropper of humor each day without fail.

"The Bungles" is an ageless, peculiarly static, talkative comic in which the most mild-looking creatures carry on lives that are subtly rebellious and fantastic. Harry Tuthill confines their visual idiosyncracies almost totally to noses, so that the people seem to be suspended by their noses and look very proud-spirited on that account, and when they talk they inevitably join noses, and fight by grabbing noses. Tuthill has a talent for whimsy, being the inventor of The Dookus, Stilletta, Mrs. Dardanella, Uncle Willie the Honest Plumber, and of remarkable dialogue like Josie Bungle's comment when George rushes out, "What! Going out at midnight to that phony Inspector's? How dippy." But "The Bungles" unfortunately share the chronic disease in modern comics of running a story for months and losing it in midpassage.

The major influence on the new strips seems to be the movies, and anything that influences movies. It probably started on the day someone discovered that a strip could be drawn as realistically as camera images; since then the comics have been picking the Hollywood process of everything but its talking machines. They are now as full of Hollywood's kind of sunshine as the old ones like "Krazy Kat" were full of sadism. Their heroes, in the manner of Humphrey Bogart and Gary Cooper, hardly draw a newspaper breath that they don't save someone good and destroy someone evil, while in the old days a hero like Krazy Kat or Jiggs was inevitably an anarchist and doomed to be laid out by a brickbat. The comics have also taken over the movie trick of sparking up a story with cheesecake and of touching superficially and pleasantly on enough different sides of existence to attract a variety of reader interest: for instance a typical day in the mewling "Abbie an' Slats" is devoted to one box of patriotism, one of cheesecake and one of plot, and cartoons like "Mary Worth's Family," "Scorchy" and "Terry and the Pirates" add a cute, flashy dialogue for people who are attracted by such dialogue: "What's the score, brief me." Technically, the cartoons have taken over the close-up, the angle shot and dramatic lighting, and have learned the advantage of variegated views of a subject and scenes packed with decor, people and shadows to simulate liveliness.

MANNY FARBER

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The Bandwagon

It is not that an early peace would be unwelcome, but that it would find the nation unprepared. – *From United Business Service.*

In the newest application of the servicemen's-voting law by the army, several hundred thousand copies of the "Official Guide to the Army Air Forces" were banned from sale at post exchanges. The ban was ordered because the guides contained a pen portrait of President Roosevelt captioned "Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy." – *From The New York Times.*

That All-Out Effort

In the life and death struggle in which the country is engaged every man and woman and every section must do a full share. Something must be done evidently to arouse the people of the eastern states to the necessity of meeting their full obligations toward the war. Possibly the middle west might help to arouse the east from its lethargy by sending speakers from here down there. As an alternative Chicago people might make it a point each day when they are finished with The Tribune to mail the editorial page to friends in New York, Massachusetts and Washington, D. C. – *An editorial in The Chicago Tribune.*

We Hadn't Noticed

Americans have so much more to fight for than Europeans. One of these things is freedom of sports. In Europe today, and for many years past, the public has had no place to shoot. . . . – *From a press release of the Associated Sportsmen of California.*

Hats-Off Department

WANTED – Man or woman, black or white, Democrat or Republican, to shear 80 head of sheep. – Wal Jones, Lerna, Illinois. – *From The Mattoon (Ill.) Journal-Gazette.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Broader Issues of Bretton Woods

SIR: The muddled thinking about foreign trade so prevalent at this time makes it necessary to call attention to a paragraph in Mr. Harris' article in your July 31 issue. He says "we are counting on five million jobs from foreign trade" and that "this is an important ingredient in our program for a full-employment income," also that "the loss of the $8 billion of export trade will be serious indeed." But he does not explain how this added employment is to come about. If five million jobs are opened up for production of exports, an approximately equal number of jobs are lost on account of imports—assuming of course that the export and import accounts are in a healthy state of balance. However, if the foreign-trade accounts are balanced by the importation of such unusable commodities as gold or promissory notes destined for repudiation, then increased employment may occur. It is paid for by the taxpayer or by some unfortunate investor. Earthquakes and disasters can similarly give employment. This way of exporting things of value in exchange for things of no value is in our foreign-trade-policy tradition. Economists, with a perverse humor, have called it a "favorable balance of trade." Now this kind of trade may be beneficial; it may be good for us to toil. But for the sake of honesty and clear thinking, let us realize that exchanging things of value for things of no value is not trading but a perverse kind of giving.

There may be good reason and legitimate trade in importing rubber, sugar, silk and paper, which are among our major peacetime imports, and still better reason to indulge in foreign travel, which also helps balance the account, and in return to export automobiles, cotton, petroleum and tobacco. To give employment is not one of the reasons, since we would give more employment by producing our own requirements.

Our economic thought must be in a strange state if anyone can regard "giving employment" as the aim of foreign trade or any commercial activity. Such activity is good if it produces or distributes wealth. It should aim at doing this with the minimum of human toil. But we live under the preposterous creed that giving work is an aim in itself to strive for; as though that were the only possible way to distribute wealth. This reminds one of the Cornish pirates who offered thanks to the good God for ships wrecked on their shores. That must have seemed to them an excellent way of distributing wealth.

Niagara Falls, N. Y. AYLMER H. MAUDE

SIR: 1. In my original article in The New Republic I merely stated that export trade should provide five million jobs in the postwar period. I did not state that these would be *additional* jobs.

2. In so far as any rise of exports brings about a rise of imports, the gains of additional export trade are to that extent reduced. Any profit resulting from an increased amount of trade—that is, the gains of a better distribution of labor—remain.

3. Of course, I agree with the correspondent, who argues that it is stupid to export goods for gold which is not wanted. I am suggesting an increase in the exportation of goods in order that we may obtain more goods today or tomorrow.

4. It does not follow that if our export trade contracts, our import trade will be reduced by a corresponding amount. Such a nice balance of exports and imports may be appropriate in a highly theoretical discussion of long-run equilibrium conditions, but is not relevant to the economics of our daily life.

5. I disagree vigorously with the comments of your correspondent concerning the objective of full employment. We seek full employment just because it is a means of obtaining a reasonably desirable distribution of worldly goods. Whatever our dreams of the future world may envisage, employment today is the only means available to most Americans for obtaining claims on goods. Many would also argue, and I would not dissent, that an active life is a necessary condition to happiness.

Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. SEYMOUR E. HARRIS

Chaos for the Deafened

SIR: Five million or so hard-of-hearing people are among the most bewildered and exploited of our handicapped. The situation has become so appalling that the Federal Trade Commission has finally intervened to curb everything from deception to commercial bribery.

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There is very little that medicine and surgery can do to relieve, not to say arrest and cure, chronic deafness. Reluctance to admit that "medicine can do no more" is of course understandably human. Tremendous advances, however, in hearing aids and rehabilitation make this attitude seem maudlin and suspect. In the majority of cases, otologists should advise such rehabilitation. The percentage of "ear men," however, who so counsel their patients is very small indeed. The result is that the deafened wander for years looking for the answer and generally end with a psychosis, the wrong hearing aid and no idea of rehabilitation.

After several years of research, university clinics conclude that patients must be tested in a laboratory, home, church, etc., with a number of hearing aids before the device of maximum value can be selected; and that an otologist, audiometrist and rehabilitationist must supplement the hearing aid with careful guidance in its use, the training of residual hearing, speech ("lip") reading, educational, social and vocational guidance.

Why have all but perhaps five percent of the most affluent and enlightened otologists failed to make these facts known? The answer lies deep in a strange and, we believe, dubious ethic of the American Medical Association: Physicians may advise, prescribe and even fit prosthetic appliances but *may not sell them.* With this revenue denied, it is economically difficult to discontinue useless and often dangerous treatment and surgery. If MD's do not take over hearing aids, the tragicomedy will spread and a new semi-profession of audiometrists will shortly arise. If the latter are trained and licensed, the dealer situation will at least be ameliorated.

But regardless of who handles hearing aids, accurate fitting and selling of "the best aid for each case" cannot be accomplished until hearing-aid manufacturers scuttle the present ridiculous method of exclusive franchises which makes it necessary for even the most informed of the deafened to go to a dozen or more dealers in quest of the best device. Manufacturers must sell to all dealers competent and willing to serve the deafened. Dealers may then be inspired to fit and sell the best device for each case instead of cutting one another's throats to sell one franchised *make.*

There is absolutely no reason to account for the divergence of hearing-aid prices between $40 and $185. Exaggerated claims and extensive advertising, pretentious offices, the desperate need of the patient, high-pressure selling and "name" determine present prices.

Until this basic distribution, service and price structure is fundamentally altered, any attempt to impose fair trade practices on hearing-aid manufacturers and dealers is certain to be superficial, futile and aggravating, and the deafened will continue to be bewildered and cheated.

SIDNEY BLACKSTONE,
Chicago, Ill. Director of the Better Hearing Bureau

Oleomargarine and Academic Freedom

SIR: I should like to correct an impression relative to the so-called oleomargarine case at Iowa State College ["Academic Freedom and the Catholics," by J. M. O'Neill, The New Republic, February 17].

It is true that state dairymen protested the pamphlet, "Putting Dairying on a War Footing." When the college retracted the pamphlet, however, it was understood that another should take its place, subject to the scientific-review procedure of Agricultural Experiment Station publications. The first pamphlet, issued by a committee of which T. W. Schultz was chairman, did not have this review, and Professor Schultz himself agreed to its retraction.

The new pamphlet has been published. The Iowa press has hailed it as a tribute both to free speech and scientific honesty. It is obtainable by anyone who wishes to judge this for himself.

Credit is due to a small group of faculty, especially to R. E. Buchanan, Director of the Experiment Station. His stand throughout has been that the people of the state, not excluding dairymen, would support the truth if they were led to see what the truth was, and it may fairly be said that the whole state has profited from this experience. Director Buchanan not only has scientific integrity in himself, he has the rarer power that wins others to care for integrity.

ELIZABETH E. HOYT,
Iowa State College, Ames, Ia. Professor of Economics

SIR: I see nothing in the above letter from Professor Hoyt that corrects any impression given by me in the columns of The New Republic.

The retraction of the famous Pamphlet No. 5 and the inclusion of representatives of the pressure group to review a scholarly pamphlet prepared under the editorial supervision of an outstanding faculty committee, seems to have been a surrender to pressure which constituted a clear violation of academic freedom. This is true regardless of the quality of the revision which (presumably) has the endorsement of both the faculty representatives and the dairymen.

Professor T. W. Schultz, head of the department of Economics and chairman of the original editorial committee, who resigned following the rumpus stirred up by the pamphlet carrying good words for margarine, wrote: "The college has paid a high price in loss of prestige and faculty morale by reason of the events set in motion by Pamphlet No. 5." It is good to know that the surrender was not wholly beyond remedy, and that the revised pamphlet can be called a tribute to both free speech and scientific honesty. Congratulations to Iowa State College.

Professor Hoyt is not the only one who pays high tribute to Dean Buchanan. Certainly I have no desire to subtract anything from this tribute.

I hope that the "oleomargarine rebellion" will result in much good to many; that the public will know more of the virtues of margarine (in days of butter shortage); that each dairyman will know more of the proper distinctions between the question of how good is margarine and the question of how good is his investment in the dairy business; and that the administration of Iowa State College (and other colleges where this case has been read about and talked about) will know more about all of the proper conditions of academic freedom, and not think that they have all been met when no dismissals have been made or resignations asked for.

Evanston, Ill. J. M. O'NEILL

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Announcement has been made of the organization of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, which has as its objective the consolidation and development of increasing public interest in getting rid of the Franco government in Spain. The committee is anxious to gain support for a resolution introduced into the House by Representative John M. Coffee, of Washington, urging the severance of diplomatic relations with the Franco regime, and military aid to the Spanish Republican underground. Copies of the resolution will be mailed upon request. The committee is located at 299 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Playwright Maxwell Anderson heads the organizing group of a Committee for the Rebirth of Distomo, a Greek town completely wiped out by the Nazis in reprisal for guerrilla warfare. This was the first town to suffer total destruction at Nazi hands, the committee says, as the Greeks were first to suffer wholesale vengeance against civilians for their resistance. Committee headquarters are at 140 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York 1, N.Y.

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Books in Review

Like a Sky Above Orchards

ALEXIS SAINT-LEGER LEGER was born on a small coral island off Guadeloupe, in the French West Indies, in the year 1887. At the age of eleven, the year of the death of Stephane Mallarmé, the high-priest of symbolism, he went to Paris to be trained for the diplomatic service. In 1910 and 1911, in the first numbers of the Nouvelle Revue Française, appeared the two series which lead off the present volume.[1] These poems reappeared many years later, in 1925, in a book in which the author's name was hidden under the pseudonym of Saint-John Perse. Meanwhile, Leger had been in China, had explored the Gobi Desert and the islands of the South Seas, had returned to France to an important diplomatic post and had continued to write poetry—while displaying an unusual reluctance to publish it. These are the main facts underlying the achievements of one of the most remarkable of modern poets.

One does not know very clearly what to make of them. Obviously, Alexis Leger is a man who has had two careers, as writer and as diplomat, and has kept them entirely apart. Some writers of this sort have been fairly consistent in continuing to write and to publish, but Leger has not. His published work consists of two small volumes, together with a long and important poem, significantly called "Exile," which, so far, has only achieved magazine publication. His unpublished work—five volumes of it—was destroyed when the Germans looted Paris. He lives at present in this country, as consultant on French Literature at the Library of Congress, but has shown small disposition to publish new work.

An early childhood—here fittingly celebrated—spent on a remote coral island, long exploring trips in the interior of China, as a young man, and the feeling perhaps that the profession of letters no longer has a place in civilized society, moved Alexis Leger to a decision to remain obscure as a writer. On one particular occasion, being invited to take part in a memorial issue of a French periodical, he stated publicly that "my name does not belong to letters." Obviously there has been at work in this writer something of the same force that drove Arthur Rimbaud, a precursor, to abandon literature and to prefer savagery to present-day civilization. Only Alexis Leger has never clearly chosen savagery and complete silence, as Rimbaud did. From time to time he has still written. What he has written is unique in its kind.

Here is symbolism at its purest: based not on an "ivory-tower" attitude of fantasy and disdain, but on the facts of daily existence, culled from scenes remote and foreign to the standardized existence of our day. Here is an attitude that remains rigorously objective, realistic—a point of view remarkably French in its general reasonableness, as well as in its power of construction—which nevertheless produces poems so strange in their general detail, so dense with allusion, as to seem obscure, though as a matter of fact they are not.

One need only compare the poetry of Leger with that of other great symbolists, Yeats, Rilke, Valéry, to sense the difference. This is a poetry of the daily, the trivial; and yet here the incidents out of which this poetry is made seem to exist in a special relation to the passage of time. The past is transcended while in process of being set down. These poems have no mystery in them, because everything in the end—the waning of the seasons, the movements of men, the eternal loneliness of the writer—is alike mysterious. It is this vivid emphasis on day-to-day living, combined with a sense that all is transient, which makes Leger a great poet.

The form itself, which is that of the "verset," the two-fold rhythmic couplet akin to the poetic passages in the Hebrew prophets, Leger owes largely to his predecessors: to Mallarmé, who began to experiment with it before his death, and to Mallarmé's successor, Paul Claudel, who has written for the most part in it, since 1889. It is a form which avoids alike the monotony of the classical Alexandrine and the jingly folk-ballad effects to be found in Laforgue and his successors, Guillaume Apollinaire and Louis Aragon. It has great weight and dignity in French, but it can only be sustained without lapsing into dullness by means of a constant lyricism. Of this lyricism, Leger is past master. He never says more than enough.

These poems celebrating Leger's childhood have been sympathetically and skillfully translated by Louise Varèse, who no doubt worked, as Eliot did in his translation of "Anabase," under the eyes of the author. One or two serious slips (I have discovered two) may be discounted —for it is very hard in English, to give the full concision and density of Leger's French. This translation is true to the spirit, if not always to the letter, of a poetry as powerful as that of any writer in our day. What emerges from it is the definite feeling of a golden age of intense joyousness, a pagan delight in youth:

> Palms . . .! In those days
> a more credulous sea and haunted by invisible departures,
> tiered like a sky above orchards,
> was gorged with gold fruit, violet fishes, and birds.
> In those days more affable perfumes, frequenting the most auspicious peaks,
> betrayed that breath of another age,
> and by the sole artifice of the cinnamon tree in my father's garden—o wiles!—
> gorgeous with scales and armor, a confused world ran riot.
> (. . . O I have cause to praise! O generous fable, O table of abundance!)

JOHN GOULD FLETCHER

[1] Eloges and Other Poems, by St.-John Perse. The French Text with an English translation by Louise Varèse. Introduction by Archibald MacLeish. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 179 pages. $2.50.

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For Cultural Coöperation

The Cultural-Coöperation Program: 1938-43, prepared by Haldore Hanson. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 71 pages. 15 cents.

I HAVE BROKEN an ancient commandment: I have read, with care and with interest, a government publication. This pamphlet is as impersonal as bureaucracy itself. A professional could easily have expanded its seventy pages to seventy times. It offers "the soul of wit" in its most austere form. It answers a few important questions; and it raises many more.

Cultural coöperation is essential if we are to plan for an orderly world. The League of Nations had its Paris Institute of Intellectual Coöperation, with prestigious names and no visible results. Here we have, on the contrary, the report of many definite achievements: travel and study grants, cultural centers, cultural materials, motion pictures and radio, educational and professional relations. The record is impressive, without being sensational. The principal field of activity lies in the Americas. China comes next. Interest in the Near East is growing.

The first problem is whether such activities should be entrusted to governments at all: the hand of the state is heavy, and its breath is chilling. The work was—and is—capably done by many foundations—Rhodes, Hyde, Kahn, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Guggenheim; and there is an Institute of International Education ably led by that great "professor at large," Dr. Stephen Duggan. A government agency runs a double risk: if scrupulously neutral, it is apt to be lifeless; if spirited, it becomes an agent of propaganda, a servant of cultural imperialism. If L'Alliance Française or Le Comité France-Amérique had been branches of the French government, their excellent work would have roused distrust or even resentment.

I am not impressed with the fact that the state provides a high degree of coördination and has ample funds at its disposal. These advantages might be bought at too high a price. This pamphlet, however, convinced me on one important point: the program is of the utmost importance for the education of the State Department itself. Time was when the task of diplomacy was to defend, exclusively and blindly, the prestige and material interests of our nationals: the spirit of Palmerston's famous speech: *Civis Romanus sum.* It is well that the State Department should learn to think in terms of friendly cultural exchange. It is difficult for a nation to be more civilized than its foreign policy. Selfishness and disregard of cultural values in the international field will affect our home life.

The program here presented is only a promise. The fields in which it is being carried out are not the most important. What we need desperately is to establish "cultural coöperation" with the Soviet Union, and with the Germany of tomorrow. We want those enormous groups, so enigmatic, so alien and so powerful, to understand us; and we must strive to understand them.

The report has a section on "Assistance to the Book Trade." Perhaps the most crying need is for a better organization of translation: a more responsible selection of books, and especially a well qualified guild of translators. Some of the best foreign books do not reach us; some reach us in garbled form. In this connection, the valiant little review, Books Abroad, deserves special mention and support.

I agree with Lewis Mumford that, for cultural coöperation, the best instrument would be a neutral auxiliary language: "A world language is more important for mankind at the present moment than any conceivable advance in television and telephony." Scholars, scientists and philosophers have reached that conclusion; it would be well if the State Department could realize the importance of the problem.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Miners' Diseases

The History of Miners' Diseases: A Medical and Social Interpretation, by George Rosen, M.D. With an introduction by Henry E. Sigerist, M.D. New York: Schuman's. 490 pages. $8.50.

THE DISEASES OF MINERS are asthma, phthisis (pulmonary consumption), cancer of the lungs (where the ore is radio-active), anemia from hookworm infestation, lead and arsenic poisoning, rheumatism, deformities resulting from cramped, unnatural posture, and nystagmus, a rapid oscillation of the eye-ball. In addition there may be sudden, fatal gassing from carbon monoxide or sulphureted hydrogen. Many of these were observed and described in ancient times as well as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Dr. Rosen's book gives us a wealth of detail concerning these early writings. He carries us through Egyptian, Greek and Roman days, through the develop-

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ment of metal mining in Germany, Belgium, France and Britain, and through the later growth of coal mining in those countries. He gives us vivid pictures of the way the men, women and children of the mines worked and lived, and furnishes us with the less abundant data on the diseases from which they suffered. We are taken only up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, which explains why there are no citations from American reports. Our contribution belongs to this century.

As one reads the history of mining, one is struck by the fact that there was no steady progress in this industry. On the contrary, European miners were in some respects better off in the sixteenth century than in the nineteenth (or than some American miners in the twentieth). Agricola tells us that in 1556 the metal miners worked a seven-hour day and only five days a week. For centuries German miners had self-governing groups and lived in towns which had the status of free cities. The oldest known association of miners is that of Goslar, in the Harz Mountains, which received a charter from Friedrich I in 1188, and lasted until Bismarck incorporated it in his sickness-insurance system. The mining industry seems to have been the first to develop along capitalistic lines, for when the surface ore was exhausted and deeper veins had to be dug, money was needed and the absentee owner came in radically to change the picture.

Dr. Rosen gives excerpts from the writings of physicians throughout the centuries describing the "enemies of the miner"—foul air, water, dust, poisonous fumes, falling timbers, landslides, explosions and even devils and dragons. Many doctors recognized dust and foul air as the actual causes of the wasting disease and made shrewd suggestions as to methods of protecting the miners against them. The English writers are practical men, who know mining conditions well; the later German writers are scientists, with no knowledge of mining but with an interest in the pathology of miners' diseases, which later led to a clear understanding of the various forms of "consumption," especially after Koch's discovery of the tubercle bacillus.

Metal mines in every country are worse than coal mines, for the ore is likely to be richer in dangerous silica. Many lead mines contain two poisons, lead and arsenic, and Cornish tin mines have always been notorious for miners' phthisis. However, it was the increase of explosions as the mines went deeper, rather than the high death rate from diseases, that attracted public attention and finally led to reforms. Many parliamentary investigations were made in Great Britain which furnish us with a vivid picture of the life of the miner in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. Serfdom lasted in Scottish mines until 1799, although the hiring system in England was not much better, with drastic penalties for absenteeism and "combining," while the owner had no responsibility for accidents. Men and women carried coal in baskets on their heads to the pit mouth, later pushed sledges, then wheels were put on the sledges and this brought child labor into the mines, for children could push the wagons along runways. The tale of the "truck system" in the early nineteenth century, with wages paid in goods or credits, is familiar to us, for it existed in Pennsylvania as late as 1871, when a legislative committee declared that "sober, hard-working miners may toil for years without having been able to draw a single dollar in actual cash, [and are] in debt till they die."

The tale of Lord Shaftesbury's fight against these evils is always interesting. He found children of five and six employed as trappers, to open and close doors; children of nine years and over manning the pumps, standing ankle deep in water during their twelve-hour shift. Their death rate was four or five times that of farm children. But public indignation seems to have been aroused chiefly by the lack of religious instruction for these children and by the fact that women worked half-naked side by side with men. However, there was a steady improvement in the miners' lot; the eight-hour day in 1908, compensation for accidental injuries in 1871, which was strengthened in 1900 and made to cover occupational sickness in 1906. Incidentally, Pennsylvania took some thirty years longer to compensate her miners for occupational disease.

Since the knowledge we now possess concerning the dust diseases of miners, the pneumoconioses, and the pulmonary cancer of miners in radio-active ore, have been gained largely during the last thirty years, this book does not bring the diseases of miners up to date. We must wait for the second volume, which we trust will be forthcoming soon.

ALICE HAMILTON, M.D.

Biddle at War

Artist at War, by George Biddle. New York: The Viking Press. 241 pages. $3.50.

MR. BIDDLE, along with 41 other professional artists, was originally detailed to work with the troops in an art unit set up by the War Department. Unfortunately this project was terminated by a meddling Congress, and the reporting was continued independently by a national pictorial magazine. The present book incorporates 56 of the drawings Biddle made for that publication, and contains a lengthy text which provides, as it were, a context for the work of his pen.

Mr. Biddle first visits Tunisia, where he inspects some of the still-smoking battlefields, recoils at the Arabs, comments upon the cooking, discusses the climate and praises the democratic instincts of our soldiers. Presently he adjourns to Sicily, where he plunges along amid exploding mines and firing men. Later he boards a battleship to witness the surrender of the Italian fleet at Taranto, and then hastens up the peninsula to be with the troops as they face the rain and bullets, and the cold and the ticks, in their northward campaign. Not a young man, he flinches from none of the hardships to which GI Joe is subjected.

Still his picture remains unimpressive. He accumulates the details of amputated limbs, and suddenly terminated cries, and peasants with their bedding, and *bambini* crying to doughboys for their *"Caramella, caramella!"*—yet his emphasis is not that of a reporter. Fearing to lose his objectivity, he fails to state the truth of war in terms of his own feelings. Thus he does not supply that panoramic, cannon-thudding account given by Hemingway in the first of his war-reports, nor, on the other hand, the delicately impaling eye-account of a Constantin Guys, say, in the Crimean campaign. Mr. Biddle's book must be recorded as less worthy than his venture.

JEROME MELLQUIST

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Croce's Confession

Germany and Europe: A Spiritual Dissension, by Benedetto Croce. New York: Random House. 87 pages. $1.25.

IT IS MOST GRATIFYING that the first book to come to us from that corner of hate-ridden Europe where the tide of war has receded, is an ardent profession of faith in the unity of European civilization.

In his Goethe book, Croce revealed that during the excitement of the First World War (in which he had participated "always tense with anxiety and the desire for Italian victory"), he found nowhere greater comfort than in the works of Germany's greatest son. The most weighty of the essays presented now in this small volume and written after Croce's native Abruzzo had been sacked and outraged by German troops, is entitled "Confessions of an Italian 'Germanophile'."

The Confessions and the accompanying essays are in no sense a defense of Germany. They do not make a simple distinction between Germans and Nazis, extolling the ones, condemning the others. Nazism is not considered a mere accident, but "a very grave crisis, because it is one result of the whole history of a people." On the other hand, Croce holds out every hope for the German people's redemption, which is a necessity for the peaceful living together of the European nations. Even the epitaph which Croce supplied for the tombstone of humble and innocent victims of a fusillade ordered by a young Prussian officer, calls the Germans "the present enemy of humanity": present and not future.

Croce does not identify himself entirely with the analysis submitted to him by a German intellectual living in Nazi Germany (in itself a remarkable document of perhaps historical value). The German had suggested that three almost organic deficiencies had befallen his people: the prevalence of metaphysical thought leading easily to criminal fanaticism; the absence of the historical experience of serfdom under a foreign rule, an experience which gives birth to the idea of liberty and makes men feel the need for it; and finally, the decision of the Romans to renounce forever the romanization of Germany.

For Croce, also, the spiritual dissension between Germany and Europe antedates the nineteenth century. But only when Germany, after her great philosophical-poetic age, fused certain of her historical traditions with decadent romanticism and when Bismarck gave "his imprint to the new Germany with everything he had in him of the cruel, sneering and cynical," could that most horrible distortion of the ends of civilization, the conception of war as an ideal, originate.

There are a few, merely anecdotic, pages on the Weimar Republic which are most illuminating. They show the weakness of the liberal settlement which was established in Germany after 1918, but demonstrate at the same time how fallacious it is to assume that in the beginning of the thirties Nazism was wanted by a majority of Germans.

Croce has always blended the qualities of historian, philosopher and protagonist. In these essays the latter is most pronounced. He does not attempt a thorough analysis of the historical reasons for the spiritual dissension he describes. But out of his belief that the historian must be a guide to his perplexed generation ("the writing of history liberates us from history," he wrote in one of his previous books), Croce appeals to future historians to investigate this discord between Germany and Europe and to make known its earliest causes. Since the German evil is due to historical causes, the removal of these causes will cure it. However, Croce feels that no action imposed by others can ever resolve a problem of mind and heart in the individual people, namely, the Germans; it must be resolved by that people. Croce is confident that the utter failure of their gigantic bid for European domination and world conquest will produce in the German people the necessary catharsis and induce them to take their place in humanity.

It is true that even if this catharsis comes to pass, the "German problem" will remain hedged with terrible difficulties. On the day, no longer far away, when this problem imposes itself upon the entire world, Croce's book should be among the first to appear in a Germany purged of Nazis.

Vincent Sheean has ably translated and somewhat heavily introduced the essays. His main merit consists in having made them available to us.

HENRY W. EHRMANN

A Reader's List

PLANNING No. 233: Economic Development in Southeastern Europe (Political and Economic Planning. Available through The New Republic, 25 cents). One of the major causes of war in Europe has been the economic and political backwardness of its southeastern and Balkan nations. Until they reach maturity, says PEP, there can be little hope for permanent peace. The broadsheet outlines a long-term program for their economic development. It investigates the sources of the lack of growth: rural overpopulation and primitive agricultural methods resulted in low productivity; transportation was underdeveloped; industry was almost nonexistent. PEP, after a detailed yet terse analysis, suggests that agricultural techniques be changed to include fodder and root crops, livestock and mechanized equipment. Industry must

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be encouraged in order to absorb excess rural population. Yet the nations involved, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece, cannot do the job without outside help. It is a task in which all countries must participate.

Crime and Punishment

CLUES TO CHRISTABEL, by Mary Fitt (Crime Club, $2). This completely satisfactory story elucidates the character of Christabel Strange, famous young English novelist, and reveals the cause of her untimely death. Arresting characters, excellent writing and an air-tight plot make this a perfect gem of crime fiction—the year's best psychological murder thriller.

TILL DEATH DO US PART, by John Dickson Carr (Harpers, $2). Starts off like a world-beater, with a superb set-up and an intriguing cast, including Dr. Gideon Fell, but either from apathy or because of the pressure of other business (under various pseudonyms, the author turns out several books a year), is allowed to degenerate into another sealed-room whodunit, solved, incidentally, just as Philo Vance once did it back in the twenties.

GREEN FOR DANGER, by Christianna Brand (Dodd, Mead, $2). A lively item about an English military hospital (1940) and two murders that took place there. Three doctors and three nurses are involved in an intricate puzzle, with the interest heightened by a nicely variegated cast and a knock-out medical setting.

Contributors

Ralph Coghlan is the editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch editorial page.

Jean Lightfoot Coghlan, his wife, is an editorial writer on The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Michael Young, British journalist and publicist, is on the staff of Political and Economic Planning.

Leopold Lippman is doing publicity and editorial work for the Welfare Council of New York City. Prior to his joining the staff of the Welfare Council, he was Manpower Editor of the Research Institute of America. He has also worked for the OWI and the Federal Security Agency in Washington. The views presented in this article are entirely his own.

Paul Greer, rural editor of The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, formerly edited a daily newspaper financed by 1,000 Nonpartisan League farmers in North Dakota, and was managing editor of The Omaha Bee.

Jerome Davis is now living in Moscow and contributing articles to various newspapers and magazines.

John Gould Fletcher's "Selected Poems" won the Pulitzer Prize in 1939. Since then he has published "South Star" and is preparing a new book of poems.

Albert Guérard, a member of the faculty of Stanford University, is the author of several books on French civilization. He has just completed the manuscript of a new book, "Europe: Free and United."

Alice Hamilton, M.D., one of America's most distinguished women physicians, is Professor Emeritus of the Harvard Medical School. She is the author of an autobiography, "Exploring the Dangerous Trades," published last year by Little, Brown.

Jerome Mellquist, author of "The Emergence of an American Art," is at work on another book dealing with an earlier period.

Henry W. Ehrmann works for a war agency in Washington. He is completing a history of the French labor movement between 1936 and 1940.

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